The East Tennessee Historical Society's PUBLICATIONS

No. 18 1946

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KNOXVILLE, TENNESSEE

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COLONEL DAVID HENLEY

By

SAMUEL C. WILLIAMS

The agent of the War Department at Knoxville for many years was a man of consequence. A full length sketch of the man is long overdue. Since Tennessee's first constitution was drafted in his office, the 150th anniversary of that event is an appropriate time to recount the highlights of his career.

David Henley was born in Charlestown, Massachusetts, a suburb of Boston, February 5, 1749. His grandfather, Samuel Henley I, migrated from England about 1700, settled in Massachusetts, and engaged in merchandising and shipping. He prospered and built a handsome home on Bunker Hill on the outskirts of Charlestown. His son, Samuel II, succeeded him and there David was born and reared. Two of his younger brothers attended Harvard College in nearby Cambridge; but apparently David did not. As the eldest son, he perhaps was called upon to assist his father in the latter's expanding business. However, from his later career we may assume that he received an education that was more than fair.[1]

Apparently David Henley did not participate in the battle of Bunker Hill, January 17, 1775. A fair inference is that he was at sea on one of the trading vessels of his family. He entered the American army on August 15, 1775, as brigade-major to General

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[1] *The Henleys in England*: The Henleys "descended from Henley of that ilk in Somersetshire, in 1660. The elder branch was advanced in rank to the baronetage. Before then, a cadet, following the profession of law, had filled the lucrative position of Master of the Court of King's Bench, from the profits of which he left to his family a large landed estate, which yielded 3,000 pounds annually." Lord Campbell, *Lives of the Lord Chancellors of England* (Philadelphia, 1841), V, 160, quoting from Lord Henley's *Life of Lord Northington*, p. 5. The Hampshire branch produced the most prominent of the name, Lord Northington, Lord Chancellor of England in parts of two reigns, King George II's and King George III's. He was Sir Robert Henley, raised to the peerage as Earl Northington. His son, the second Earl, was Viceroy of Ireland. The branch from which Colonel David Henley derived settled on the Thames River above London, where the town of Henley is located. It is at this town that the annual regattas are held, the crews of the Universities of Cambridge and Oxford competing. For the first emigrant to Massachusetts and his descendants, see G . W. Chamberlain, "The Henleys of Massachusetts," *Magazine of History*, XVIII, 40 *et seq.*; Thomas B Wyman, *Genealogies and Estates of Charlestown, Massachusetts* (Boston 1879), II, 493. Although it is known that two brothers of David Henley attended Harvard, a letter from the publication agent of that University to Miss Laura E. Luttrell, September 27, 1944, states that "a careful search of our alumni files in this office and at the College Archives does not reveal the name of David Henley as a former student at Harvard University."

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William Heath; was deputy adjutant-general under General John Spencer, September 6, 1776; lieutenant-colonel of the 5th Massachusetts Regiment, November 1, 1776; colonel of one of the sixteen additional regiments of the continental line, January 1, 1777; retired April 23, 1779.[2] Subsequently he was designated as a supernumerary officer when his own regiment, or light corps, was consolidated with those of Colonels Smith and Jackson.

His first operation in the field was in the engagements around Long Island and New York City in August, 1776 under Heath. With him was his brother, Lieutenant Thomas Henley, who lost his life in attempting to force a landing on Montressor Island. That young officer was the first to land and the first to be killed. Before attaining the rank of colonel, David Henley took part in the battle of White Plains, in New York State, October 28-29. When his senior was absent he served in command of his regiment of Massachusetts men.[3]

In the spring of 1777 John Adams (later President of the United States) proposed in the Continental Congress the establishment of a naval board to have supervision and control of the building and fitting of all ships — in laying "the foundation of a great navy." Nine men were placed in nomination, from which number only three were to be chosen. Henley was one of the nine but not of the three. This would indicate that preference was given to men of more maturity than he, and that Henley had had some experience at sea in merchant vessels of his family.[4]

The most important battle in which Colonel Henley participated was that at Saratoga (or Bemis' Heights), October 7, 1777. He was under General Benjamin Lincoln of Massachusetts.[5] This battle ranks with the battle of King's Mountain; the one turned the tide at the North, as did the other at the South three years later to the day. In a crisis of the conflict, General Lincoln's command was at night ordered to go to the relief of a hard-pressed part of the American army. The next day General John Burgoyne began his retreat and his surrender of his entire army soon followed.

To Colonel Henley fell the task, under his brigadier-general, John Glover of Massachusetts, who had been wounded in action, of commanding the troops who were to guard the captured army at Cam-

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[2] F. B. Heitman, *Historical Register of the Officers of the Continental Army* (Washington, 1914), 285. This shows that Colonel Henley and his oldest male descendant were entitled to membership in the Society of the Cincinnati. However, neither he nor any descendant ever became a member of that organization. W. S. Thomas, *Members of the Order of the Cincinnati* (New York, 1929), *passim*.

[3] For General Heath's command in these activities, see H. B. Carrington, *Battles of the American Revolution* (New York, 1876), 216-217.

[4] E. C. Burnett (ed.), *Letters of the Members of the Continental Congress* (Washington, 1923), II, 356.

[5] Carrington, *op. cit.*, 241.

bridge, Massachusetts.[6] There Burgoyne and his army, composed of British and Hessian mercenaries, were to be held as prisoners of war. The choice of Henley was no doubt due to his managerial ability. The British officers and men were treated with great kindness on their way to Cambridge, and on arriving there Generals Burgoyne, Phillips and others were entertained by General Heath at "an elegant dinner." Burgoyne remarked: "I am impressed at the civility of your people of Boston; for if you were walking the streets of London in my situation, you would not escape insult."

The lionizing was not to last long. The British soldiers in Cambridge thought to show their superiority over the Americans, soldiers and civilians alike, by the use of taunting and scurrilous language. The point was reached where British subalterns also treated American officers with disrespect. The spirit manifested was that of a conquering army rather than one which had been compelled to surrender.

According to the testimony in the subsequent court martial, a blatant British sergeant by the name of Reeves loudly remarked to a crowd of Americans: "King [John] Hancock is come to town. Don't you think him a saucy fellow for coming so near General Burgoyne?" Upon being reprimanded by an American officer, perhaps Colonel Henley, who was in command of the prisoners, Reeves pointed to a portion of his anatomy not usually mentioned in polite circles, and said, "You God damn clown with a sword under your arm." Colonel Henley said to Reeves, "I believe you to be a great rascal." Reeves replied: "I am no rascal but a good soldier," and added that he hoped soon to carry arms under the British General Howe. The Colonel rejoined, "Damn your King and your country; when you had arms you were willing enough to lay them down."

During the wordy encounter, Colonel Henley became so exasperated that he lost command of his temper and pinked the breast of Reeves.[7] Here was an opportunity presented to Burgoyne which he promptly and gladly embraced. On January 9, 1778, he addressed a letter to General Heath demanding that Henley be brought to trial:

I have heretofore declined taking public notice of this man, but on positive grounds, I hereby formally accuse Colonel Henley of behaviour heinously criminal as an officer, and unbecoming a man; of the most indecent, violent, vindictive severity against unarmed men, and of intentional murder. I demand prompt and satisfactory justice, and will not doubt your

[6] The march to Cambridge is described in the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XVI, 547-49. Also, T. Anburey, *Travels Through the Interior Parts of North America* (London, 1789), II, 53.

[7] In the subsequent court martial of Colonel Henley, Burgoyne was taken aback when Henley placed on the witness stand the British surgeon who had treated the sergeant. He gave testimony that the wound was only about an inch deep.

readiness to give it. Whenever you will inform me that a proper tribunal has been appointed, I will take care that undeniable evidence shall be provided to support these charges.

In reply Heath pointed out that the troops of Burgoyne had been insolent and abusive; that he, as general in command, intended that the orders he gave be obeyed, and that it was he and not Burgoyne who would punish those who disobeyed. He closed by adding that he "had appointed a Court of Inquiry to pass upon charges against Colonel Henley as made by Burgoyne."[8]

That general was not content with a "Court of Inquiry." Protesting against the granting of one, he demanded the appointment of a court martial to receive his charges, and insisted that the trial be one charging criminality on the part of Colonel Henley. Heath and the members of the court of inquiry concurred in granting the demand. The court martial met near the end of January and continued until the middle of February. Its proceedings were taken in shorthand and later published.[9]

A member of the Boston Bar, Lieutenant-Colonel Tudor, was appointed to prosecute Colonel Henley. Again Burgoyne was not content. He would not be denied the privilege of acting as prosecutor and of abusing Colonel Henley. This, too, was granted him. His opening address occupies many pages of the *Proceedings;* it is too long to be even abstracted here. It had the tone of the "charges" above quoted. Burgoyne, a poet and the writer of several tragedies, craved to hold the limelight. In addition to heaping vituperation on the Colonel, he undertook to instruct the Court on points of procedure. He referred to its members as "trustees of the honor of an infant State, and therefore evasion and subterfuge can be of no avail."

General Burgoyne's latest biographer[10] says in this connection:

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[8] Heath's reply included a reference to the fact that Burgoyne's troops had counterfeited passes, and in doing so filled them up "in the most effrontive manner."

[9] The proceedings of the court martial were printed in pamphlet form (8 vo.) by General Burgoyne on his return to London. Its full title is: *Proceedings of the Court Martial held at Cambridge, by Order of Major General Heath, commanding the American Troops for the northern district, for the trial of Colonel David Henley, accused by General Burgoyne of ill-treatment of the British Soldiers, etc. Taken in short-hand by an officer, who was present.* London, printed for J. Almon, 1778. The copy in the Library of Congress was consulted by the writer and is quoted from. The pamphlet is excessively rare, selling at around $40.00.

Other works treating of the trial are: Pleg W. Chandler, *American Criminal Trials* (Boston and London, 1840-44), in two volumes, the Henley trial being in volume II. Justin Winsor says that the trial is epitomized in this work. William Heath, *Memoirs of the American War* (Boston, reprinted 1904), treats of the trial. The latest account seems to be that in an army journal, *Quartermaster's Review,* IX (1930), 22 *et seq.*

[10] F. J. Hudleston, *Gentleman Johnny Burgoyne* (London and Indianapolis, 1927), 273. Hudleston when he wrote was librarian of the British War Office and confesses that he wrote of his subject *con amore.* He devoted a long chapter to Burgoyne as a writer of drama and of poetry. His first drama, produced in 1774, was *Maid of the Oaks.*

Gentleman Johnny was in his element: he was stage-manager, gave stage directions and set the court right as to procedure. As usual he was terribly pompous, but his sincerity is very evident.

Colonel Henley in his defense contented himself with a very brief written statement. In it he refrained from saying a word in answer to the scurrilous abuse and exaggerated charges of Burgoyne. He was not "conscious of having failed in his duty to his country under trying circumstances" and was "perfectly willing to accept the decision of the court," so conscious was he of having "acted throughout with humanity."

Burgoyne claimed the prosecutor's privilege of closing the case and delivered another long flowery speech which was but a repetition of his opening one. Of it Hudleston remarks: "One can but smile at Burgoyne's grandiloquence which has more than a smack of Mr. Sergeant Buzfuz in the pompousness of its expressions."

In his address before the court, Tudor, the judge-advocate, frankly avowed himself the prisoner's friend: "My friend, Colonel Henley, is known to be of a temper; it must be allowed that warmth carried him too far, but a more generous, honorable, or humane man does not live in the American or any other army." The behaviour of the British troops in general, he contended, was "notorious." Notwithstanding their situation, they "treated our's with pride, contempt and outrage."

Colonel Henley was acquitted and General Heath on review upheld the verdict in a general order. He pointed out that General Burgoyne had been permitted to act as a prosecutor in the trial against the practice in America. General Heath protested "against the instance being drawn into precedent in the future."

The court martial being a closed chapter, Colonel Henley consulted with his army friends in Massachusetts in regard to sending General Burgoyne a challenge to a duel. General Henry Knox evidently thought the British general had gone beyond the bounds of reason in his abuse of Henley, and, according to family tradition, offered to serve as the Colonel's second. He wrote the challenge, which was accepted by Burgoyne, with the stipulation, however, that he would not fight on American soil. Thereupon, it was agreed that the duel should be on British soil — the Bermudas. It never took place. Burgoyne applied to the American authorities and received leave to depart for England. Near the beginning of April he signed his parole and sailed for home. It was more than a year later (June, 1779) that his army left for England. It would be unfair, however, to impute to him a purpose to evade the duel.

General Washington in 1778 placed Colonel Henley in com-

mand of what was known as the Light Corps, and as the winter of that year was approaching Washington appointed a committee of his officers to re-arrange his army in the North. On the 27th of November, 1778, while he was at Fredericksburg, he sent to the several commanders in the field the committee's decisions on the disposition of their several commands. In the same orders he named the places of their quarters for the winter. Doubtless in shifting and reassigning the colonels, the rule of seniority governed. Henley being the youngest, just under thirty years of age, had to give way to a senior when the corps of officers was reduced. From Fredericksburg General Washington wrote to "Colonel David Henley, Commanding the Light Corps near Bedford," directing him to have his officers march their men to winter cantonments as set forth to join "their different regiments to which they belong," and from which they had been drawn in forming the Light Corps. Continuing, General Washington wrote: "Inclosed you will find your Commission dated agreeable to the determination of the Committee on Arrangements."[11] Thereafter the Colonel was reported as a supernumerary officer, his pay ending March 3, 1779.[12]

The decade following the close of the Revolutionary War is the most obscure in Henley's career. Apparently the new commission referred to above took him to Virginia to assist in maintaining contact with the officers of the French army, whose country had recently entered the war on the side of the United States. In 1782, while located at Alexandria, he married Sarah Haselrigg. When hostilities came to an end, he appears to have entered the shipping business.[13] At the convention held in Virginia in 1788 to consider the ratification of the federal constitution, he was an observer. He kept a diary in which were recorded the highlights of the proceedings and his estimate of its members and their leanings.[14] It is not

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[11] The original Washington-to-Henley order is in the possession of a Henley descendant in Atlanta, Georgia, Mrs. Evelyn Henley Crossland. There is a photostatic copy in the Lawson McGhee Library, Knoxville.

[12] *Roll of Massachusetts Soldiers and Sailors of the Revolutionary War* (Boston, 1896—), VII, 729. See also W. C. Ford and G. Hunt (eds.), *Journals of the Continental Congress, 1774-1789* (Washington, 1904-1936), XXXI, 565, 571. As a supernumerary he was denied the half-pay granted to other officers on retirement.

[13] On July 21, 1782 he wrote from Boston to John Fitzgerald, Esq., a merchant of Alexandria, Virginia: "I have a few moments to write, to make some enquiry relative to the sloop Flora and beg you will inform me of her fate. As my capital is sufficient to answer my own designs in Business, believe shall transact it myself and probably make you a visit in two months with Mr. Sonderstrom, who is returned from Europe and will soon see you, when he will settle the bill drawn in your favour . . . ." The original of this letter is in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania at Philadelphia; copy is in the McClung Collection, Lawson McGhee Library, Knoxville.

[14] This diary, in beautful script, survived many years but was lost in a fire which destroyed the home of a Henley descendant, Captain Fairfax Henley. Otherwise, it would be a valuable contribution to the history of Virginia at a critical juncture. However, some of the subject matter was touched on in a letter written by the Colonel

improbable that this diary was kept at the request of Washington, who did not attend, so that the General might keep informed.

Colonel Henley seems to have served the general government as a "trouble-shooter" in this period. The creation of the Northwest Territory raised problems which concerned both the government of the United States and Virginia, which had ceded to the United States the domain north of the Ohio. It is interesting to observe that Henley's first service in a territory was in the Northwest Territory and not in the Southwest Territory, which was not in existence at that time. In 1788 he was sent to Fort Washington (the present Cincinnati) to handle claims arising out of the cession made by Virginia. He served as one of three commissioners appointed to determine the compensation to be paid to Virginia for "subduing British posts and maintaining garrisons in the Western territory ceded to Congress."[15]

The first connection of Colonel Henley with the Southwest Territory has caused writers no little confusion. His appointment as agent of the War Department at Knoxville was made while Governor William Blount was on an official visit to Philadelphia, and was the work of President Washington and the Secretary of War, General Henry Knox. His appointment reads:[16]

To David Henley Esq

Sir

You are hereby with the approbation of the President of the United States appointed temporally [*sic*] an agent for the Department of War in the Territory of the United States South of the Ohio; your pay will be at the rate of one thousand dollars per annum and two rations of forage per day, and in case of your being with the troops in the field three rations per day.

Your pay and emoluments to commence on the sixth ultimo, when you entered upon the preparative parts of your duties.

Given at the War Office of the United States, this thirty first day of August 1793

H. Knox
Secy of War

During July Governor Blount had been in Philadelphia in con-

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to his younger brother, Samuel, who was at the time in government service at Fort Washington (now Cincinnati). This letter is in the Manuscripts Division of the Library of Congress. *Handbook of Manuscripts* (Washington 1918), 166-420.

[15] Ford and Hunt, *op. cit.*, XXXIV, 20, 178 n., 180. The award was $500,000 and the commissioners were paid $6.00 a day, one half by Virginia and one half by the United States. For Henley's report of 1788, see also W. P. Palmer (ed.), *Calendar of Virginia State Papers* (Richmond, 1875-93), IV, 448. From 1794 on Samuel was an official at Fort Washington. One who wrote of Colonel Henley and Blount County states that his brother followed the Colonel to that county—a false inference drawn from the fact that Captain Samuel Handley (sometimes erroneously written Henley) did move from the valley of the Nolachucky in Washington County to Blount County. This was towards the close of the last decade of the century, after having served in the Tennessee constitutional convention as a delegate from Washington County.

[16] Photostat in McClung Collection, Lawson McGhee Library.

ferences with President Washington and Secretary Knox, but there is no evidence that either disclosed to him their determination to appoint an agent at Knoxville. That decision was reached about July 6 when Henley entered on "the preparative parts" of his duties. Knox wrote to Washington on July 17 that he and the Secretary of the Treasury "have conceived it essential to the economical administration of the public interests . . . that an agent therefrom should be sent both to Georgia and to the South western territory . . . . Colonel David Henley has agreed to perform the duties in the South western territory."[17]

A large amount of goods was about to be sent to the Territory and it was thought advisable to tighten up fiscal controls. Blount apparently did not know that Henley was to travel south with him, for just as the Governor was about to leave Philadelphia, he wrote to General Sevier that David Allison "comes out with me"; but he did not mention Henley.[18] It is believed that Blount learned for the first time of Henley's appointment and its broad scope after reaching Knoxville.[19]

Not until October 21 did Governor Blount inform General James Robertson, of Mero District, of the appointment of Colonel Henley:

> There is now here Col. David Healey [Henley] agent of the War Department whose duties are various, among others all sums of money pass through his hands by my warrant. It is necessary you should forward to this place a Power of Attorney to receive your salary . . . . You had best forward the Power as early as may be, for until you do the money must be locked up in Healy's [Henley's] chest both from [for] you and myself.[20]

The work of the agent was largely routine and unspectacular. Financial transactions, making contracts with merchants to supply troops and Indians, and paying salaries to officials do not make interesting history. Colonel Henley's conduct of his office may be traced, in some measure, in the Robertson Papers, the William Blount Papers, and the Executive Journal of Governor Sevier. He did not engage in the activities of the average citizen, political, educational or other. "Strictly business" may well describe the conduct of his agency, and strict fidelity to the interest of the United States was ever marked.

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[17] C. E. Carter (ed.), *The Territorial Papers of the United States, IV, The Territory South of the River Ohio* (Washington, 1936), 280.

[18] *Ibid.*, 303. No mention is made of Henley or an agency to be opened at Knoxville in a letter written about the same time to Judges Campbell, McNairy, and Anderson. *Ibid.*, 301, also in *American Historical Magazine*, II, 371, *et seq.*

[19] The Knoxville *Gazette* of Saturday, October 12: "Last Thursday night arrived Governor Blount . . . accompanied by Colonel David Henley and David Allison, Esq., from Philadelphia." This was at the time General Sevier was marching his troops south on the Etowah campaign.

[20] "Correspondence of General James Robertson," in the *American Historical Magazine*, III, 80.

For reasons not fully disclosed in existing documents the War Department in Philadelphia in 1794-5 became still further dissatisfied with William Blount's management of Indian affairs and took steps that delegated matters of import to Agent Henley and General James Robertson. One matter of weight was the handling of a large quantity of war supplies and farming equipment to be sent to the Chickasaws to be delivered at the Lower Chickasaw Bluff. The War and Treasury departments cooperated in choosing Colonel Henley and General Robertson to act in concert. The former journeyed to Nashville and the two officials readily agreed in choosing John Overton[21] to take charge of the transportation and delivery of the supplies, which were at that time at Nashville. Governor Blount, not unnaturally, nursed a resentment and a coolness toward Colonel Henley resulted. The Governor also tried to prejudice General Robertson against the Colonel.[22]

The first constitutional convention of Tennessee, composed of five members from each of the eleven counties of the Southwest Territory, met in Knoxville, January 11, 1796. Knoxville was then a small village, with only one building which could accommodate such a large body. That was Colonel Henley's office building, one large, single-story room, located, it seems, at the southwest corner of the present Gay and Church streets.[23] The Colonel tendered the

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[21] He, along with his friend, Andrew Jackson, became purchasers of the Chickasaw Bluff and Overton become known as the "Father of Memphis."

[22] Henley was blameless in the matter; he was not a subordinate of Blount but a coordinate authority and in this instance represented two national departments—War and Treasury. At the same time Blount was manipulating to bring about the resignation of the worthy General Robertson. These matters are treated of in some detail in this writer's "History of the Southwest Territory," now in preparation. Suffice it to say here that the general government's dissatisfaction mounted, and President Washington's cabinet was on the point of asking for Governor Blount's resignation. With a new state in the offing, to take the place of the Southwest Territory, the matter was not pressed to consummation. Timothy Pickering Manuscripts (Massachusetts Historical Society; copies in McClung Collection, Lawson McGhee Library).

[23] For many years the location of this building has been in doubt. The writer is indebted to Miss Laura E. Luttrell of Knoxville for an investigation of the deed records in the Knox County courthouse which appears to determine the location beyond doubt. The only land which Henley had acquired before the date of the constitutional convention was lot 40 of the original survey of Knoxville, which he had purchased from Samuel Givens on November 2, 1795 (recorded May 18, 1798), for $300. Deed Book E, I, 149. That large payment indicates that there must have been a building already constructed on the lot, which probably was enlarged by Henley before the date of the convention. In 1797 Colonel Henley purchased from James White several lots in the so-called "second division" of Knoxville, which may explain the erroneous view that his office was located on what is now Clinch Avenue.

That Knoxville, in 1796, was indeed a small village is shown by a statement of Dr. J. G. M. Ramsey, *Annals of Tennessee* (Philadelphia, 1853), 656, who fails to say where Henley's office was located, but describes it as "a small building then in the outer part of Knoxville, and still surrounded by standing trees of the ancient forest. It was afterwards used as a schoolhouse." The existence of the forest is confirmed by a statement (quoted *post*) of the missionaries, Steiner and Schweinitz, who visited Henley in 1799, that the Colonel's house "borders on Capt. Stone's woods." Stone's tavern (at the present Gay and Cumberland) was on lot 39, adjoining Henley's

use of this building for the use of the convention.[24]

News of the passage of the act of Congress admitting Tennessee into the Union was received with rejoicing by a large majority of the people of the new state. Colonel Henley, although he may well have thought he would soon lose his position as war agent, joined in expressing gratification:

> The State of Tennessee being received into the Union, I have orders to respect it and your Governor as such, and I hope it will become a strong link in the great Chain of Union, and that all party spirit will drop, and that we may all be one party in keeping peace and making each other happy.[25]

The sturdy Colonel was to retain his post for several years after statehood. Until Benjamin Hawkins succeeded Governor Blount as superintendent of Indian affairs, Henley assumed temporarily the general oversight of the duties of that office.[26]

An early official contact between Henley and Gov. John Sevier was significant of the Colonel's mastery of details and also the weakness of the garrisons holding the forts in Tennessee in 1796. On entering office Governor Sevier requested former Governor Blount to give him a statement of the number of forts and the occupying forces. Blount referred the inquiry to Henley who responded:

> Fort Grainger: One lieutenant; one sergeant; one corporal; eighteen privates.
>
> Southwest Point: One ensign; one sergeant; one corporal; eleven privates.
>
> Tellico, under the command of Lieutenant Davidson of the third sublegion: One ensign; one sergeant; one corporal; thirteen privates.[27]

The relations between Colonel Henley and the debonaire Governor Sevier were fairly cordial. Each was able to see and appre-

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lot 40. Now that the location of the site of the constitutional convention has been established, the place should be appropriately marked.

[24] The convention "Resolved, that David Henley, esq. agent of the department of war, is entitled to the thanks of this convention, for his polite offer of the room in which the session has been held, and that the President be requested to present him with the same." Tennessee Constitutional Convention, 1796, *Journal of the Proceedings* (Reprinted, Nashville, 1852), 31-32.

[25] To General James Robertson, August 9, 1796, in *American Historical Magazine*, IV, 286.

[26] On July 18, 1796 President Washington wrote Secretary of War McHenry: ". . . the duties enjoined on the late Superintendent of Indian Affairs in the Southwestern Territory which have become stagnant by admission of it as a State into the Union, as by applying the services (under temporary regulations and proper instructions), of Colo. Henley, or Mr. Dinsmore, or both, as the case shall, after duly considering it, appear to require." W. C. Ford (ed.), *Writings of George Washington* (New York, 1889-1893), XIII, 248. Previously, on April 15, Blount had informed Colonel Henley that he considered the office of superintendent "as surviving that of Governor," and that "after my departure for Philadelphia, Colonel John McKee one of the agents of the United States to the Cherokee Nation will continue to exercise the duties of his appointment under my instructions until he receives further instructions from the Secretary of War." William Blount Manuscripts (Typewritten copy, in McClung Collection, Lawson McGhee Library).

[27] Blount's letter is dated August 16, 1796. Tennessee Archives. For Sevier's request see S. C. Williams (ed.), "Executive Journal of Gov. John Sevier," in East Tennessee Historical Society's *Publications*, No. 1 (1929), 102.

ciate the good points of the other. Henley was in the group of officials invited to the first inaugural dinner at Stone's Tavern, and the Colonel entertained Sevier with a few others at an elegant dinner a few days later.[28] The Governor was aware of the fact that the Colonel stood high in the confidence of the federal government and could be influential in gaining action favorable to the infant State of Tennessee, particularly in securing payment to the state militia who had served on campaigns not authorized by the federal government.[29]

The first years of the new state witnessed turbulent conditions within its borders, nearly all of which called for the exercise of the military power of the national government. Among these conditions were: (a) the survey of the line fixed by the Treaty of the Holston of 1791. During the five years that had passed there had been a constant thrust of population to and across the line into Indian country, and the federal government was challenged to vindicate its authority in upholding its own treaty pledges. Bordermen resorted to every artifice to retain their homes. Federal troops were called upon to eject such settlers; and federal commissioners were sent into Tennessee to run and mark the line. (b) The irrepressible Zachariah Cox was renewing his attempt to send from the region a large force of settlers into the North Alabama country. He built a large and formidable vessel, armed with cannon, to transport his followers. (c) Creek Indians were yet attacking the weaker Chickasaws, who begged for federal aid.

Near-anarchy threatened and Agent Henley was held at his post. The need of his wisdom and experience was sore. Benjamin Hawkins, who at the time was serving as superintendent of Indian affairs at the South, was also one of the commissioners to locate the disputed line of the Cherokees. He, with General Andrew Pickens, of South Carolina, appeared in East Tennessee early in April, 1797, to begin the survey. Hawkins appealed to Henley for advice as to how the delicate situation should be handled. In reporting to the Secretary of War, James McHenry, from Knoxville, July 5, Hawkins, after referring to the arrival of additional federal troops,said:

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[28] John H. DeWitt (ed.), "Journal of Governor John Sevier," in *Tennessee Historical Magazine*, V, 185, and VI, *passim*. To this writer the most interesting of the dinners given by the Colonel was the one in October, 1798, to Governor Sevier and Captain Samuel Handley. The last named had been for many years a near neighbor of Sevier on the Nolachucky, in Washington County. (See note 15 above.) Handley had been an outstanding soldier of several wars: the colonial wars, Lord Dunmore's (Pt. Pleasant on the Ohio, 1774), the Revolutionary War (captain under Sevier at King's Mountain, 1780), and the wars of the Southwest Territory against the Indians. The Captain and the Colonel were desirous of discussing their possible kinship. Conversation between the three old soldiers at the dinner must have run high. *Ibid.*, V. 254.

[29] Examples: S. C. Williams (ed.), "Executive Journal of Gov. John Sevier," *loc. cit.*, No. 3 (1931), 56; No. 4 (1932), 163.

To Colonel Henley it is a post. I do not know whether you are personally acquainted with the Colonel, but whether you are or not, I may venture to pay him my tribute of applause for his zealous attachment to the interests of the United States, and for his honest, firm and persevering exertions to fulfill the duties enjoined by the trust reposed in him. None rejoices more than the Cherokees, and [or] were more alarmed for their situation.[30]

The national government sent additional forces into the region —the Third Regiment under Colonel Thomas Butler — to remove intruders who had settled on Indian lands. These troops incidentally provided a defense against Zachariah Cox who, contrary to an official proclamation forbidding it, was carrying out his plan to lead settlers into the Alabama country. Never before were the services of Agent Henley so much needed; and as a federal officer he could not afford to shirk. Agreeable to duty, Hawkins and he advised and cooperated. Their task and performance met with the disapproval of most of the settlers affected. Indeed, the opposition mounted to the danger point. The commissioners thought it advisable to leave off the survey east of the Tennessee and go to the region around Nashville and run from there eastward, hoping that the excitement would subside.

Now out of a clear sky came another thunderbolt: the letter of Senator William Blount to James Carey, disclosing what has ever since been called "the Blount conspiracy." With Hawkins west of the Cumberland Mountain, it fell to the lot of Henley to handle the situation. This letter was delivered to Carey at Tellico Blockhouse, a trading post under the jurisdiction of Agent Henley, and committed by Carey to the hands of Byers, a clerk there. It was taken to Henley and by him sent to the Secretary of War at Philadelphia.[31]

Colonel Hawkins received from Henley a copy of the intercepted letter while he was engaged in surveying the dividing ridge between the waters of the Cumberland and Duck rivers, June 4. On the same day he wrote to Secretary McHenry: "The letter is intercepted at a time which may eventually be productive of much real service to the U. States by an exposure of those dirty intriguers and their villanous [*sic*] attempts to involve the government in difficulties and distress."[32]

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[30] *Letters of Benjamin Hawkins, 1796-1806,* in Georgia Historical Society, *Collections,* IX (Savannah, 1916), 181.

[31] Isabel Thompson, "The Blount Conspiracy," in East Tennessee Historical Society's *Publications,* No. 2 (1930), 7-8.

[32] *Letters of Benjamin Hawkins,* 177. In 1789 Hawkins had defeated Blount for a seat in the United States Senate from North Carolina. In November, 1797, from the Creek Nation, Hawkins, in writing to an old friend, said of the Carey letter: "I had not been two days on the frontiers of Tennessee before I suspected there was something in the train of execution injurious to the United States; Colonel Henley, Mr. Dinsmoor, General Pickens and myself spoke freely to each other on the subject,

In the Carey letter Blount had disclosed his animus towards Hawkins:

> You must take care in whatever you say to Rogers or anybody else, not to let the plan be discovered by Hawkins, Dinsmoor, Byers, or any other person in the interest of the United States nor Spain . . . . you must by no means say any thing in favor of Hawkins, but as often as you can with safety to yourself, you may teach the Creeks to believe he is no better than he should be. Any power or consequence he gets will be against our plan. Perhaps Rogers, who has no office to lose, is the best man to give out talks against Hawkins.[33]

In November following, after Hawkins had left for the Creek country, he wrote to Colonel Thomas Butler, commander of the federal troops in Tennessee, in regard to the improved condition of affairs:

> The dust you mention, of the 18th of September, is like the expiring blast of a lamp. While I am coupled with my honest old friend Colonel Henley, I shall be in good company. I would not exchange one ounce of his integrity for the whole group you mention.[34]

The posts of Henley, Hawkins, and Butler were indeed difficult. It took time to compose the situation and bring to them vindication.

Hawkins had in mind, particularly, the boldest of the group, Captain John Chisholm, who before sailing for England, March 18, 1797, to further "the plan" wrote a note to his friend, Colonel John McKee: "Regected by the u s—I now steere for foreign Climes—I wish you well most sencerely—and Dam all the rest I pray—C:DH [Henley] & S D [Dinsmoor]—B H [Hawkins]. Let me be plaine, Jack—I will conquer or be Damd."[35]

Shortly after Hawkins left the region, the responsibility of handling another phase of the conspiracy fell upon Henley. On August 16 a large package of letters appeared in the postoffice in Knoxville, directed in the handwriting of Blount to Colonel John McKee. Learning of this, Henley requested Governor John Sevier to issue an order to the postmaster, George Roulstone, permitting Henley to break the seal to ascertain whether the contents were "inimical" to the interests of the United States. Notwithstanding the embarrassment, the Governor issued the order.[36]

As was inevitable, the plans of the federal government pre-

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and we were induced to exert all our vigilence [*sic*] . . . . When the letter was sent to me, I was surprised it was from an unexpected quarter; the man, my old friend, formerly very much in my estimation, and until the last year or two of my being a member of the Senate, deemed to be of the purest integrity; he is before that tribunal which has and will do him justice; and there I leave him." *Ibid.*, 254.

[33] *Report of Committee of the House of Representatives of the United States, Appointed to . Prepare and Report Articles of Impeachment Against William Blount, etc.* (no date), pages xlxii. The date of this communication shows that Hawkins was feared before he reached Tennessee.

[34] *Letters of Benjamin Hawkins*, 221-22.

[35] *Report of Committee . . . Impeachment against William Blount*, xiii.

[36] Williams, "Executive Journal of Gov. John Sevier," *loc. cit.*, No. 2 (1930), 142.

vailed and gradually turmoil gave way to tranquillity. The national troops were by degrees withdrawn; Agent Henley's duties grew less and less onerous, and he was able to give more attention to his private affairs. He amassed a considerable estate: town lots in Knoxville, and lands in the counties of Knox, Blount and Roane. Seemingly, he spent much of his time on a farm on Baker's Creek, Blount County, not far from the trading post at Tellico Blockhouse.[37]

President Washington retired from office in March, 1797, and Henley wrote him a letter on the occasion. The feelings of warm regard—indeed affection—existing between the Washingtons and the Henleys are reflected in General Washington's reply:

Mt. Vernon, July 3rd, 1797

Your letter of the 11th ulto. from Knoxville, has been duly received, and for the kind and affectionate sentiments expressed therein towards Mrs. Washington and myself, we pray you to accept our best acknowledgements . . . and regard for you. Should you ever pass, or repass this road, we should be glad to have the opportunity of repeating them to you in person, at this retreat of ours from the bustling scenes of public life.[38]

The most pleasing phase of the Colonel's career in the Tennessee country was his attitude towards the Indians. In 1800 Moses Fisk, a graduate of Dartmouth College, and later an instructor in that institution, was in Tennessee. He was appealed to by President Wheelock of that college to investigate the feasibility of establishing a mission and school for the Cherokees. For the support of such a mission he looked for aid from a society overseas. Fisk had an interview with Colonel Henley and asked the latter to reduce to writing the substance of what was said in the interview.

From Knoxville, May 6, 1800, Henley wrote Fisk a letter to be sent to President Wheelock, in which he mentioned the improvement shown by the Indians in manufactures and commented upon the improved relations between them and the settlers. He advised trial among the Cherokees of missions if they could not be brought alike to the other Southern tribes. Improvement could be most

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[37] According to family tradition, Henley invested his savings in town lots, farm and wild lands. For 2188 acres acquired in Knox County, see Deed Books G, I, 72-73; L, I, 252-54; Z, I, 553-54. Baker's Creek is a northeast branch of the Little Tennessee River, into which it empties at Morgantown, which was described in 1834 as a village of seventy inhabitants, eleven miles above the mouth of the Little Tennessee. Eastin Morris, *Tennessee Gazetteer* (Nashville, 1834), 4, 104.

[38] John C. Fitzpatrick (ed.), *Writings of Washington* (Washington, 1931-44), XXXV, 483. The year following (1798) Washington, in writing to his Secretary of War, McHenry, again showed his regard for Colonel Henley. December 14th he wrote recommending the advancement of Captain Samuel Henley: "who is a man or handsome and gentlemanly appearance . . . . [He] made so favorable an impression on me that (being an old Officer, too, and brother of a very worthy man), I should be very glad, if his conduct will stand the test of investigation, to see him put as Captain in the place of some Captain in that line [the Massachusetts line] who has not served in the Revolutionary War." *Ibid.*, XXXVIII, 59-60. Samuel was promoted.

easily realized among the Cherokees and from thence be disseminated to the others. "The ultimate aim should be the incorporation of the inoffensive tribes in the United States." In his view, the reconciliation to the whites was far advanced. "The more good people we have among them, the easier it is to govern them." Henley commented on the "keen ability of the Cherokees in calculation and trading":

> They imitate the whites more and more in their mode of life, parents seem to take some pains that their children acquire a knowledge of writing and our language.
>
> They would never civilize as long as the woods and wild animals continue as they have been. But these are changing. It behooves them to make food and comforts of plenty. Hence they will arrive at a division of land (which they are already talking of). Prosperity and civilization would be in the train of consequences.[39]

Colonel Henley at the time lived occasionally on a farm in Blount County very near the Cherokees and formed his conclusions from that vantage point. That they were not lacking in soundness was demonstated in Oklahoma in later generations.

By way of remarkable coincidence, two Moravian brethren, Abraham Steiner and Frederick C. De Schweinitz, from Salem, North Carolina, appeared at the same time in Tennessee for the purpose of proposing a mission among the Indians. While passing through Knoxville they called on Colonel Henley, to whose home they were escorted by Captain John Stone, the host of the tavern at which they stopped. They commented that the home of Henley "borders on Captain Stone's woods." Of the Colonel they wrote in their journal:[40]

> We delivered to Colonel Henley Bro. Marschall's letter addressed to him. He received us very well but without ceremony. One could gather, however, that what he said and promised was seriously intended. In reference to our purpose to come to the Cherokees, he offered to render all help in his power and to send to us this very evening a pass to travel in the Indian country. At the same time he regretted that we had not come two or three weeks sooner, for at that time more than 4000 Indians had been gathered at Tellico Blockhouse to receive their annual presents, which in goods amount to the value of 6000 dollars. These presents are annually paid them in the fall, but at no definite time; rather when the goods arrive from Philadelphia, in consideration for the land they have ceded to the United States, this matter being attended to by the War Department. During the time of the division of the presents they are maintained board free by the United States and draw their rations daily. The division over, most of the men, partly alone and partly with their women and children, go on the hunt and return to their homes only after New Year. Col. Henley thought, therefore, that we should find few of the men at home, which we later found to be the case.

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[39] Dartmouth College Archives.

[40] Reproduced in S. C. Williams (ed.), *Early Travels in the Tennessee Country* (Johnson City, 1938), 456 *et seq.*

The missionaries, equipped with letters of introduction from Colonel Henley, passed on to Nashville and its environs. On their return to Knoxville they again sought out the Colonel,

who again showed himself to be very obliging and invited us to dine in the evening. At that time he offered further service and said: "You know the place and the man to whom to turn; if, therefore, in the future you would secure information or again come hither turn to me without further ceremony. I am willing, also, if any one of you should come next September, at the time of the distribution of presents to the Indians, if I then have the time, to accompany you to Tellico Blockhouse or even further into the Indian country, myself!"[41]

Colonel Henley's duties as agent of the War Department were terminated in 1801. He was informed on March 24 of that year that the Department intended to make the Cherokee agent responsible for the duties previously performed by him, and he was instructed therefore to transfer, on May 15, 1801, all government property in his possession to Return Jonathan Meigs, the newly appointed agent to the Cherokee Indians.[42]

For some years Colonel Henley was harassed in settling his War Department accounts. This occasioned his visiting Washington City for interviews. With great difficulty the Colonel satisfied the auditing authorities that any discrepancies were due to failure of bordermen to return to him vouchers for moneys advanced or entrusted to them,[43] and his accounts were finally passed, though not until after his death.

In 1812 Colonel Henley submitted to Congress a memorial on the subject of his accounts, which was referred to the Secretary of War, William Eustis, for investigation. The report [44] of the Secretary is a convenient summary of Henley's services to the government and is therefore quoted in its entirety:

War Department, *June* 8, 1812

The Secretary of War, to whom was referred the memorial of David Henley, with the accompanying documents, by a resolution of the honorable the House of Representatives of the United States, of the 7th instant has the honor to report:

That it appears by the documents above mentioned, that as early as

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[41] *Ibid.*, 522.

[42] Information from the records of the Office of Indian Affairs in the National Archives, Washington, D. C., in a letter from Herman Kahn, Chief, Division of Interior Department Archives, to Laura E. Luttrell, October 39, 1944.

[43] An example of the difficulties is a letter from Richard Harrison, auditor of the Treasury Department, to John Steele, comptroller, of the date May 2, 1808: "Col. David Henley, who has been here for some time on the old subjects of his Accounts, called on me the other evening with a request that I forward the enclosed. This I undertook the more readily as it may possibly be the means of rendering an honest man some little service." H. M. Wagstaff (ed.), *Papers of John Steele* (Raleigh, 1924), II, 549. It was not so much peculation on the part of those trusted as inability to get them to appreciate the necessity of sending in vouchers. Governor Blount and General Robertson experienced much the same difficulty.

[44] *American State Papers* (Washington, 1832-61), *Claims*, 418.

the year 1792 [1793], the said David Henley was appointed by the Government of the United States to act in the capacity of paymaster general throughout the extensive district then known and designated by the appellation of "the Territory southwest of the Ohio;" that soon after he was invested with a more important and extensive authority in the same district, namely, that of *general agent* of the Government, which, at that time, comprised the duty of superintendent of Indian affairs, quartermaster general, commissary general of purchases, and paymaster general for both regular troops and militia, the latter being frequently called into service in small parties, at points distant from each other, and for short periods. In this station he continued his services during a series of *ten* years; in the whole of which period it appears that he never had any permanent assistant: the only *two appointments* in this agency made by the War department (*both* in the paymaster's line) having been abrogated in consequence of the incapacity and unfitness of the individuals who were so employed; several temporary appointments of military officers, as his assistants, made in the Territory aforesaid, having also been rendered ineffectual by their early removal to other duties.

It further appears, that, for want of adequate assistance to perform these various and complicated duties, the said David Henley was obliged to use the most unremitting personal exertions and frequently to absent himself from his *general office* in consequence of sudden and urgent calls on public service to distant points of the district confided to his superintendence; during which periods the public records and funds must have been exposed to injury and loss through the unfaithfulness or incapacity of individuals necessarily left in charge of them; the result leaving a presumption that such injury and losses did actually accrue, since on the adjustment of the public accounts of the said David Henley at the proper offices, a balance has been found against him of twelve thousand seven hundred and ninety dollars and thirty-nine cents, for the expenditure of which he has not presented legal vouchers.

It further appears, by evidence taken before the competent authorities in the *district aforesaid,* that divers abuses had been *there* practised upon the Government of the United States, which were detected by his vigilance, activity, and firmness, and which were corrected and discontinued, probably to an amount far exceeding the deficit in his public accounts.

It appears, also, that Colonel Henley performed such *extra* service for the United States, for which no adequate compensation appears to have been allowed; particularly that he was employed as the confidential agent of Government in detecting and counteracting the conspiracy of Governor William Blount, and that his conduct in the whole of the aforesaid agencies merited and received the approbation of Government, at whose instance he remained at the post assigned him many years, notwithstanding his reiterated solicitations for permission to resign in order to attend to very interesting personal concerns, as is proven by his correspondence with the principals of the War and Treasury Departments of that day.

It also appears, by documents and other testimony entitled to credence, that in consequence of thus remaining in the public service, he sustained losses in his private property, which exceeded the amount of compensation allowed for his agency.

From the best view that the Secretary of War is enabled to take of the whole subject, and from the consideration that Colonel Henley has ever been distinguished for his frugality, zeal, and faithfulness in the public service, it appears reasonable and consistent with equity, that his account

current, with the United States should be finally settled by discharging from the aforesaid balance standing against him.

All which is respectfully submitted
W. EUSTIS.

Despite the favorable nature of this report, a bill for the relief of David Henley was rejected on June 29, 1812.[45] After the Colonel's death his son, Arthur H., renewed the fight; and in 1824 a bill "discharging the late Colonel David Henley from the balance standing against him on the books of the accounting officers of the Government" was eventually passed.[46]

When the War of 1812 came on, Colonel Henley was at Washington whence, according to family tradition, he communicated with his son, Arthur H., in Tennessee, that he had been urged by his old army friends to apply for a general's commission, but that he had declined to do so because of his health and age. He did conceive that he could give efficient service as a clerk in the War Department and he accepted a place there. How much of his service was performed in Tennessee in equipping and supplying troops from that section has not been ascertained. In 1819, however, he submitted to the government a claim for muskets taken for the service of the United States, October 13, 1813. This claim was approved and paid the next year.[47] The name of David Henley appears in a register of civil officers of the government, submitted on September 30, 1816, as a clerk in the War Department employed in Washington City at $800 per year, but no indication is given as to when his service had begun. On December 2, 1822, however, John C. Calhoun, secretary of war, reported that he was a clerk in the Pension Office and added that he had been "in the service of the United States, except for an interval of twelve years, from 1775 to the present." Since his work as general agent in Tennessee had ended in 1801, the above would indicate that he was re-employed by the War Department in 1813. Calhoun commented that because of his age—seventy-four years—he was the "only inefficient clerk in the Department," but "from his recollections of revolutionary events, he is useful in the examinations of revolutionary claims."[48]

When at the seat of the general government, Colonel Henley boarded in Georgetown, where he died January 1, 1823. His remains were interred in the Georgetown cemetery. One of Knoxville's principal streets bears his name, as does also a million-dollar

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[45] *Annals of Congress,* 12 Cong., 1 Sess., XXII, 1562.

[46] *Ibid.,* 18 Cong., 1 Sess., 2493; *Reports of Committees,* 18 Cong., 1 Sess., I, No. 34.

[47] *Senate Documents,* 15 Cong., 2 Sess., No. 74; *Annals of Congress,* 16 Cong., 1 Sess., XXXV, 73.

[48] *American State Papers, Miscellaneous,* II, 309, 983.

bridge[49] over the Tennessee River at the end of Henley Street. The chapter of the Daughters of 1812, of Johnson City, bears the name of Colonel Henley.[50] His large walnut desk, which was made for him in 1797 by Thomas Hope, is preserved in the William Blount Mansion in Knoxville.[51]

At last—long last—East Tennesseans are coming to an awareness of the fact that this worthy did an essential service to the State of Tennessee in the years of its infancy.

Descendants

David Henley married while located at Alexandria, Virginia, March 12, 1782, Sarah Haselrigg, the second daughter of Sir Robert Haselrigg, Baronet of Nosely Hall, and his wife, Sarah. To the couple were born two sons: Arthur Haselrigg, born November 13, 1782, and David, born March 23, 1784. Young David died in boyhood, leaving Arthur H. the only surviving child. Mrs. Sarah Haselrigg Henley died in 1786.[52]

Young Arthur, after the death of his mother, was taken to nearby Mt. Vernon and was, according to family tradition, under the nurture of General and Mrs. Washington. Later he was reared in the home of Haselrigg relatives and by them sent to school. He received a good education, especially in the classics. His mother's brother, raised to peerage as Lord Maynard, sent from England a large sum of money to aid in his education. The Haselriggs were of an ancient family of distinction.[53]

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[49] Under the auspices of Bonny Kate Chapter of the DAR, on November 2, 1932, a bronze tablet was placed on the bridge and unveiled in honor of Colonel Henley.

[50] Its first regent was a great-granddaughter of the Colonel — Mrs. Norma Henley Gilbreath, wife of Sidney Gordon Gilbreath, for many years prominent among the leaders in the educational field in Tennessee.

[51] The desk was purchased for the purpose of preservation in 1938 by Laura E. Luttrell and Mary U. Rothrock from Mrs. Norma H. Gilbreath.

At that time Mrs. Gilbreath had in her possession a small portion of Col. David Henley's library, including the following books: Accum, Frederick, *System . . . of Chemistry* (Philadelphia, 1814, Vol. I); Ainsworth, *Abridgement of Ainsworth's Dictionary* (3rd ed., London, 1790—autographed copy); *American Speaker* (Philadelphia 1811); Barthelemi, *Travels of Anacharsis the Younger, in Greece,* (Philadelphia, 1804); Bingham, Caleb, *Columbian Oration* (New York, 1816); Blair, Hugh, *Lectures* (Dublin, 1783); Carnaro, Lewis, *The Immortal Mentor* (Philadelphia, 1796); Fordyce, James, *Sermon to Young Women* (5th ed., London, 1770); Goldsmith, *Grecian History* (6th Amer. ed., 1813);Hall, Robert, *An Address to the Public* (3rd ed., London, 1815); *Letters of Pliny* (title page missing); *Letters from the South Written During the Summer of 1816.* By the author of John Bull and Brother Jonathan (New York, 1817); Scott, A., *Nouveau Recuell* (2nd. ed., London, 1785).

[52] Wyman, *op. cit.,* II, 493, and Records of Christ's Episcopal Church. Two of her letters written to her husband at Alexandria passed to members of the Henley family in Tennessee. They bear the dates Brookline, Massachusetts, June 1, 1785, and October 16, 1785. She was at the time on a visit to her older sister, Hannah, wife of Rev. Thomas Abbott (m. 1766). In all probability it was in this home that the courtship of David and Sarah took place. These letters show that young David was then yet alive.

[53] The first Haselrigg entered England from Normandy with William the Canqueror, from whom he received a large grant of land. The baronetage was soon conferred. The greatest of the family, Sir Robert, was a follower of Cromwell and a

After completing his education, Arthur joined his father in Tennessee and engaged in farming. He built a double log house in Blount County near Maryville.[54] In 1811-12 he was "assistant factor" at a nearby blockhouse and garrison where goods were supplied to the Indians.

Later, after an agreement was reached, with the consent of the President, he acquired a 640-acre tract of land on the south side of the Little Tennessee River, which covered the site of two of the old capitals of the Cherokees, Tenase[55] and Chota.[56] He built a commodious and imposing house which he named "Chota" or "Echota." He soon established and operated a ferry across the Little Tennessee. This appears to have been in conformity to an agreement reached with the Cherokees in 1813 (with the consent of the President)[57] for the construction through their domain of a great highway to Georgia and the erection of "convenient stopping places along the line."[58]

Tennessee and Georgia groups were formed to construct the highway within their borders. Leaders in the Tennessee group were the Colonel and his son, Arthur H., the latter becoming the active manager and treasurer of the Tennessee company, which was officially known as the Unicoi Turnpike. The Georgia group was incorporated in 1816, one year after a charter has been granted to the Tennessee company.[59] The turnpike ran from Arthur Henley's ferry at Chota and southerly to a pass over the Alleghany range, thence down Beaver Dam Creek past the site of Murphy, North

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leading member of the Long Parliament which brought about the beheading of King Charles I. During the reign of Cromwell as Lord Protector of the Realm, Sir Robert supported the Protector, but at times showed independence. He ranked along with the great Hampden. An illuminating account of the attempt to arrest five members of that Parliament, including Sir Robert, Hampden, Pym and two others, may be found in G. H. Jennings, *Anecdotal History of the British Parliament* (New York, 1883). See also, John R. Green, *Short History of England,* and his longer *History of England.* At that time the name was spelled Haselrig. For a later Sir Arthur Haselrigg [*sic*] see the *American Historical Review,* IX, 51. A son of a later Sir Robert was raised to the peerage as Lord Maynard, brother of Sarah H. Henley. The name of the family has been spelled variously; the first of the name was Arthur Haselrig, who in England took his name from a town in Normandy from which he came with the Conqueror. Later it appeared as Haslerig, Hazlerigg, Heselrigg, Hazelerigg, etc. The family seat in England was Nosely Hall.

[54] About five or six miles south of Maryville on the Niles Ferry Road near a church, and known as the Dry Creek Farm.

[55] From which the river and State of Tennessee took their name.

[56] The second capital and "city of refuge." Williams, *Early Travels, passim.*

[57] It is a fair inference that in securing this consent, Colonel Henley was influential with the President and the Indians.

[58] James Mooney, *Myths of the Cherokees,* in Bureau of American Ethnology, *Nineteenth Annual Report* (Washington, 1900), 87. See also C. C. Royce, *The Cherokee Nation,* in the *Fifth Annual Report* of that Bureau, 209.

[59] L. Q. C. Lamar, *Compilation of the Laws of Georgia,* 74-76. *Acts of Tennessee,* 1815, Chapter 104; 1817, Chapter 7.

Carolina. The Tennessee section was completed within three years. In its construction, slaves of the Henleys, father and son, were used; also, Indians were hired for that purpose. The road became of great utility to Knox and adjoining counties in the transportation of livestock, goods, and persons to Charleston on the Atlantic coast and intermediate points. Its greatest value to the people west of the Alleghanies was in their ability to market livestock. It followed an ancient trail of the Overhill Cherokees from Charleston to Chota.[60] Over a century later it advanced the prosperity of the village of Knoxville and of Tennessee— a fact that histories of Knoxville and Tennessee have been slow to recognize.[61]

Arthur H. lived the life of an English squire in what became Monroe County. He kept hounds and followed the chase. As the Indians retired to the southwest, game became abundant. In the meantime his estate grew in size and value. He spoke French and gained a considerable knowledge of the Cherokee language. He was held in high esteem by that tribe, members of which called him Kana-gatogo (Standing Turkey).[62]

Arthur H. Henley married Ann Evelyn (or Evaline) Moore, April 26, 1814, in Baker's Creek[63] Church, Blount County, Tennessee. Miss Moore, born September 28, 1797, was a descendant of old Virginia families. Her great-great-grandfather was Alexander Spotswood, royal governor of Virginia (1710-1740), "the greatest of the colony's governors," and noted as the organizer and leader of the Knights of the Golden Horseshoe, 1716.

Governor Spotswood's daughter, Ann Catherine, married Colonel Bernard Moore, of King William County.[64] That union resulted in a most remarkable progeny, including, through a different line from that which produced Mrs. Arthur H. Henley, General Robert E. Lee, who was therefore a distant cousin of Mrs. Henley.[65] Colo-

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[60] This trail, dating as far back as the early 1700's, is treated of in this writer's works: *Adair's History of the American Indians* (Johnson City, 1929), *Early Travels in the Tennessee Country, Memoirs of Lt. Henry Timberlake* (Johnson City, 1929), *Dawn of Tennessee Valley and Tennessee History* (Johnson City, 1937), in some of which early maps showing the trail may be found, such as Hunter's Map.

[61] The turnpike was directed to the head of "boatable water" of Tugaloo River, an upper branch of the Savannah River, so that by these streams traffic with Augusta, Georgia, was carried on. Knoxville thus was able to reach leading towns in South Carolina and Georgia.

[62] The name given noted Cherokee chiefs of a much earlier period: the king of the Cherokees, Old Hop (1730), and his nephew, who figured in the downfall of Fort Loudoun in 1761.

[63] Her mother, Elizabeth Aylett Moore, removed to Blount County and settled on this creek. She was married to Joseph Hamilton, of Jefferson County, and is buried in the Bend of Chucky. Information from Mrs. Castor Henley Howard of Maryville.

[64] Colonel Bernard Moore was elected judge of the court of admirality of Virginia, 1776.

[65] An accurate Virginia historian says: "The relationship of this family [another

nel Alexander Spotswood Moore, a son of Colonel Moore and Ann Catherine Spotswood Moore, married in 1787 Elizabeth Aylett, who was the daughter of Colonel William Aylett[66] and Mary Macon. Their daughter, Ann Evelyn, became the wife of Arthur H. Henley.

Arthur H. Henley died in 1849. He and his wife, Evelyn Moore, were buried in the family cemetery at their home "Chota." Their children were so numerous that they and their descendants cannot be treated of, this being a biographical sketch and not a geneaology.[67]

Without doubt on the part of the author no other Tennessee family equals, or closely approaches, the Henley family in the matter of distinguished forebears and connections.

Of the several sons of Arthur H., nearly all served as officers in the Confederate States army. This is to be remarked but not remarkable in view of the fact that a Colonel Aylett commanded the 53rd Virginia Regiment of Armistead's Brigade in the battle of Gettysburg, and was severely wounded in Pickett's charge, though "the flag of his regiment was carried to the farthest point in the enemy's line that day."[68] And was not General Lee the leader of all the Confederate forces?

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branch] to General Robert E. Lee, results from the fact that he too was a descendant of Governor Alexander Spotswood, his daughter who married Colonel Bernard Moore of King William County." Landon C. Bell, *Cumberland Parish* (Richmond, 1930), 228-29.

[66] Colonel Aylett was a deputy commissary-general of Virginia at the beginning of Governor Patrick Henry's administration on April 27, 1776; he was deputy commissary-general for the Southern army, June 18, 1777, serving until his death at Yorktown in 1781. Before the Revolutionary War he served in the House of Burgesses from King William County. He was also a member of the constitutional convention of Virginia, of 1776. *Official Letters of the Governor of Virginia*, I, *Letters of Patrick Henry*, (Richmond, 1926), 67; *Tyler's Quarterly Magazine*, I, 87, *et seq.*; E. C. Burnett (ed.), *op. cit.*, II, 314-15. (" A very honest, discreet man.") Also numerous references in *North Carolina State Records*, XIII, XIV, and *Virginia Historical Magazine*. A son of Colonel Aylett, Philip (a brother of Mrs. Arthur Henley's mother), married a daughter of Patrick Henry, the great orator and governor of Virginia. The first mistress of Mount Vernon was a Miss Aylette, the wife of Lawrence Washington, older brother of George Washington.

[67] A genealogy of this family should be compiled and published. The task would be the less difficulty for the reason that Arthur H. Henley was the sole surviving child of the Colonel. On the descendants of the two daughters of Arthur H. who married Barclay McGhee, M. C. Pilcher, *Historical Sketches of the Campbell and Kindred Families* (Nashville, 1911), 186-88, would provide assistance. That author, in tracing the Moore-Spotswood descendants, includes General Robert E. Lee and Charles Campbell, the Virginia historian, as great-great-grandsons of Governor Spotswood and Colonel Moore. See page 198. Campbell was an occasional visitor to the Henley's at "Chota." While with them in 1836, being in low health, he executed a will (Frank C. Keller a witness) dated August 19, 1836. By this document he bequeathed a miniature of himself to Betty Henley (later Mrs. Barclay McGhee) and Mary Keller Henley (later second wife of Barclay McGhee), with the remainder over to "my much esteemed Aunt Evaline to belong to her and her heirs forever." Campbell did not die until several years later. For his correspondence with Draper about Governor Spotswood's descendants, see *Calendar of the Tennessee and King's Mountain Papers, of the Draper Collection of Manuscripts* (Madison, Wis., 1929), *passim*.

[68] M. C. Clement, *History of Pittsylvania County, Va.* (Lynchburg, 1929), 248-50.

HUGH LAWSON WHITE AS A TENNESSEE POLITICIAN AND BANKER, 1807 - 1827

By
L. Paul Gresham

Hugh Lawson White is best known to students of Tennessee history as a lawyer and judge in the state's frontier period and as a congressman and presidential candidate after some parts of Tennessee had developed a plantation order of society. White's interest in and connection with politics was not entirely new, however, when in 1825 he accepted the unanimous election of the state legislature to fill the unexpired term of Andrew Jackson in the United States Senate.[1] On two occasions before that time—in 1807 and in 1817—he had exhibited a lively concern in state politics and had served in the general assembly for one-term intervals. In the latter of these instances, his prime motive had been to safeguard and expand a state banking project of which he was for some years a major promoter.

From the vantage position offered by hindsight the Judge appears to have acted unwisely in turning from law and the bench to politics. As a matter of fact, it is doubtful that he had any long-range political plans or ambitions on either of the early occasions when he accepted legislative office. In 1807 he apparently aimed to accomplish certain definite ends in legislation, toward the solution of problems that were highly significant in Tennessee, after which he would return to the work for which his training and talents best fitted him.[2] In 1817 his motives were more definitely linked up with private and personal interests, but political advancement was clearly not a primary object of his legislative service. His experience during these two terms in the general assembly did serve, nevertheless, to so chart the course of his career that in time he became a national political figure.

The chief problems which Tennessee faced in 1807 grew out of the state's land laws. Another source of difficulty which called for intelligent change was the judicial system. White, as an able

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[1] Tennessee General Assembly, *Senate Journal*, 1825, pp. 220-221 (hereafter cited *Senate Journal*); John Spencer Bassett (ed.), *The Correspondence of Andrew Jackson* (Washington, 1926-1935), III, 296; *American Historical Magazine*, IX (1904), 20.

[2] Albert D. Marks, "The Supreme Court of Tennessee," *The Green Bag*, V (1893), 120-128.

lawyer and judge, was in a position to give invaluable assistance toward the solution of these problems, and he chose to do so by retiring from the superior courts of law and equity and entering the state senate.[3]

When he took this step, however, White possessed other requisites to political leadership than those furnished by an outstanding legal and judicial background. His father was and had been for twenty years a leader, mild and diplomatic, yet forceful, in virtually all the affairs of the frontier community.[4] The son, in his own right, had definite political assets which might serve as the foundation for a distinctive legislative career. His residence since boyhood at Knoxville, the center of the state's political activity, had given him a broad acquaintance which included the leading figures in the West.[5] Thus, if the first venture of Hugh Lawson White into the political arena was regrettable, as has been suggested, it did not appear to be so when on September 21, 1807, he took his seat in the senate at the first session of the Seventh General Assembly, opening at Kingston.[6]

When the assembly reconvened on September 24, at the courthouse in Knoxville, attention was focused on what was undoubtedly the most significant subject of the seventh assembly. On that day a select committee was appointed, with White as chairman, to act

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[3]L. Paul Gresham, The Public Career of Hugh Lawson White (unpublished Ph. D. dissertation, Vanderbilt University (1943), 22-24, 27-28; *Senate Journal,* 1807, pp. 3-6.

[4]James White had served as a captain of North Carolina milita during the American Revolution. Francis B. Heitman, *Historical Register of Officers of the Continental Army* (Washington, 1924), under "White, James, (N.C.)." After moving to Tennessee in 1785, he helped to found Knoxville (1791), and before his death in 1820 he held some of the highest offices, civil and military, under both the territorial and state governments. Stanley J. Folmsbee and Lucile Deaderick, "The Founding of Knoxville," East Tennessee Historical Society's *Publications,* No. 13 (1941), 7; *American Historical Magazine,* I, 63; *Dictionary of American Biography* (New York, 1928-1937), XX, 108. His War of 1812 record in the War Department Archives, Adjutant General's Office, The National Archives (card numbers 38448349 and 38448353), shows that he served as a brigadier-general from September 23, 1813 to January 1, 1814.

[5]Young White had served for several months as private secretary to Territorial Governor William Blount and also for a time as clerk of the Knox County Court. Nancy N. Scott, *Memoir of Hugh Lawson White* (Philadelphia, 1856), 9; Minutes of the Knox County Court, Book D, 1792-1795, under the date of May 11, 1793, County Court House, Knoxville.

James and Hugh Lawson White achieved the feat, all but impossible to other men, of maintaining good relations with both Andrew Jackson and John Sevier in the famous feud of these popular leaders which shook Tennessee in the early 1800's. This circumstance proved to be a definite political asset for the younger White in his public career. Joshua W. Caldwell, *Sketches of Bench and Bar in Tennessee* (Knoxville, 1898), 13-14; *Senate Journal,* 1803, pp. 58-59.

Hugh L. White's early legal and judicial career is summarized in L. Paul Gresham, "The Public Career of Hugh Lawson White," *Tennessee Historical Quarterly,* III (1944), No. 4, pp. 293-295.

[6]The session was adjourned at the end of the first day, to meet in Knoxville on September 23. *Senate Journal,* 1807, pp. 3-6.

with a house committee in considering "the late land law."[7]

The law referred to was an act of the preceding assembly designed to carry into effect an act of Congress of April 18, 1806, in which a three-cornered dispute of North Carolina, Tennessee, and the federal government was supposed to have been settled.[8] The dispute had grown out of the confused status of lands within the bounds of Tennessee to which North Carolina had retained claims under her cession act of 1789.[9] After several attempts to terminate the parent state's control over her domain, Tennessee at last obtained an agreement, incorporated into the aforementioned congressional act of 1806, whereby, in return for the ceding to the United States control over the "sale and entire disposition" of all lands south and west of the Congressional Reservation Line, [10] the state, for its benefit, was ceded all lands east and north of the same line. The conditions imposed upon Tennessee for this apparent concession were: (1) that North Carolina's claims should be satisfied out of the latter territory, and (2) that provision should be made for the support of colleges, academies and "schools forever" from what remained unclaimed by North Carolina. [11] The "late land law" authorized machinery to carry into effect the provisions of the congressional act, but by the time the seventh assembly convened it had become apparent that all would be confusion unless radical changes were effected in the law so as to make it workable.[12] Consequently, the legislature set itself to the task in 1807 of making the necessary revisions, and to Hugh L. White fell the major share of responsibility in this endeavor.

When the work of the special committee got under way it was seen that its duties would be very arduous. Accordingly, its members were granted a "leave of absence" from the senate sessions and other committee meetings in order that they might concentrate on

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[7] *Ibid.*, 9.

[8] *Senate Journal*, 1806, pp. 81-82; Tennessee General Assembly, *Public Acts*, 1-10 (hereafter cited *Public Acts*); Edward Scott (compiler), *Laws of the State of Tennessee, including those of North Carolina now in force in This State, 1715-1820* (Second edition of Cooper's edition, Louisville, 1902-1903), I, 889-914. A copy of the congressional act, also, is found in *ibid.*, 936-939.

[9] The reservation had been made by North Carolina, for the purpose of satisfying the claims of her Revolutionary soldiers, in what became Tennessee. See Henry D. Whitney, *Land Laws of Tennessee* (Chattanooga, 1891), 66-70, 93, 113. Owing to this situation, Tennessee had experienced great difficulty in legislating toward the clearing up of land titles and fixing methods of obtaining them. See John Trotwood Moore and Austin P. Foster, *Tennessee, The Volunteer State* (Nashville, 1923), I, 313 ff.

[10] The Congressional Reservation included all of West Tennessee and the southwestern corner of Middle Tennessee. See map in Albert C. Holt, *Economic and Social Beginnings of Tennessee* (Nashville, 1933), 75; Scott, *Laws of Tennessee*, I, 936-939.

[11] W. R. Garrett and A. V. Goodpasture, *History of Tennessee* (Nashville, 1900), 152-153, give a concise summary of the act.

[12] Philip M. Hamer, *Tennessee, a History, 1675-1932* (New York, 1933), I, 258.

their important assignment.[13] The first report of the committee contained a bill, which was immediately passed, to suspend from operation the major sections of the previous law.[14] For ten weeks the work continued. There is little indication of what were the distinct contributions of the various members of the committee, beyond the fact that the final bill clearly bears White's own stamp. On December 3, 1807, when the bill became a law, it embodied a practical system for surveying and granting titles to the lands placed at Tennessee's disposal.[15]

A significant addition made by the new law was a provision for two land commissioners, one for East and one for West (now Middle) Tennessee. These officials were given authority to visé all warrants and conveyances and check them with documents of the federal government and of North Carolina and to give or refuse legal title on the evidence of these papers.[16] It may be considered unusual that at this time the rectangular survey, already in use in the Northwest for twenty years, was not adopted for Tennessee. White and his collaborators undoubtedly recognized the advantages of this system, but the former, at least, had been taught by his experience in the courts that in a relatively thickly-populated region like East Tennessee, previously settled by "tomahawk claim" methods, little could be done to lay out lands on a regular pattern.[17]

So far as efficient and practical machinery was concerned, it seemed that Tennessee was on the way to a happy situation with respect to her lands. But it did not take her leaders long to discover that more than machinery was required. White and others first became aware of the deficiency in their attempt to apply the provision of the congressional act which required the establishment of colleges, academies, and other schools.

Hardly had the act been ratified by the legislature when bills were passed providing for two colleges, one in each of the two grand divisions of the state, to be supported by returns from land sales.[18] Similarly, a long list of academies was projected at about the same time. But fond hopes for adequate educational facilities were foreordained to disappointment, owing to the multitudinous claims of North Carolina, on the one hand, and the inability of Tennessee

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[13]*Senate Journal*, 1807, p. 90.

[14]*Ibid.*, 19.

[15]*Ibid.*, 183; *Public Acts*, 1807, pp. 1-30; Scott, *Laws of Tennessee*, I, 889-914, 980-1008. The original law of 1806 covers twenty-five pages in Scott's compilation, the amendment made in 1807, twenty-eight. White's interest in the land law was probably in part the result of his father's interest in land speculation. See Thomas P. Abernethy, *From Frontier to Plantation in Tennessee* (Chapel Hill, 1932), 75-79.

[16]Scott, *Laws of Tennessee*, 995-996.

[17]Payson J. Treat, *The National Land System, 1785-1820* (New York, 1910), 349-350.

[18]Scott, *Laws of Tennessee*, I, 930-931, 1047-1050, 1053-1063.

to collect from her actual land sales, on the other. Thus Cumberland College at Nashville and East Tennessee College at Knoxville, were destined to struggle through financial adversities. Part of the time they existed only as profusely engraved charters, despite numerous attempts to keep them going, through changes in the land law and other expedients.[19] Education in Tennessee thus suffered from over-dependence upon lands that could not be used in its maintenance, and from lack of any other adequate support. No one viewed these circumstances with less satisfaction than Judge White and other members of his family, who contributed time and means in an effort to raise the educational level of their state.[20] Their perseverance in this cultural interest proved lasting.[21]

It has been stated that another major interest of White in entering the legislature was reform of the state court system. Other leaders also were aware of the need. Governor Sevier referred to it in his message of 1807 to the general assembly.[22] As a result, near the beginning of the session, a committee was appointed with White as chairman to consider changes in the judiciary. The committee doubtless met and made some definite progress in planning a new system, but reported no plans during the session. Obviously, the land law, which was considered more immediately important, absorbed the time and energy of White, who as chairman of both committees was relied upon for initiative and guidance, until it was impossible to obtain any legislation on the courts. When, in the next assembly, 1809-1811, the reorganization act creating the supreme court of errors and appeals became law, it was Thomas Hart Benton, a new member of the legislature, who was chiefly responsible.[23]

Other matters of less consequence, largely routine in nature,

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[19] Treat, *op cit.*, 351-352; Robert H. White, *Development of the Tennessee State Educational Organization, 1796-1929* (Nashville, 1929), 14-20. Judge White himself gave much time and effort in an attempt to place East Tennessee College, which became the University of Tennessee, on a firm foundation. He was made chairman of a board to conduct a financial drive for the institution in 1809. In his endeavor to discover a practical plan for the campaign he wrote to Thomas Jefferson asking advice in this and other matters relating to the college. One of the chief points about which he inquired was the feasibility of a lottery scheme for raising money. This Jefferson definitely advised against. The lottery was attempted, however, and it ended in signal failure. Because of lack of money, and the death of President Carrick, the college existed only in name from 1809 until well after the War of 1812 when improved financial conditions stimulated a revival. Jefferson to White, May 6, 1810, Correspondence of Thomas Jefferson (Series 1), XII, No. 51, Manuscripts Division, Library of Congress (Published in *The American Historical Magazine*, I (1896), 206); Thomas C. Karns, "The University of Tennessee," in Lucius S. Merriam (ed.), *Higher Education in Tennessee* (Washington, 1893), 63 ff.

[20] Moses White, a brother of Hugh, donated land in 1807 for the site of East Tennessee College, as James White had done for its predecessor, Blount College, in 1794. *Senate Journal*, 1807, p. 10; William Rule, *History of Knoxville* (Chicago, 1900), 349-353.

[21] L. Paul Gresham, The Public Career of Hugh Lawson White, 71-72.

[22] *Senate Journal*, 1807, pp. 11-14.

[23] Thomas H. Benton, *Thirty Years View* (New York, 1859), II, 184-186.

received White's attention in this assembly, but his major contributions have already been indicated. He did not return to the legislature at the next assembly. Just why is not clear. There seems to be no reason to doubt that he could have been overwhelmingly reelected had he chosen to run again. One possible explanation may be found in his appointment as the United States district attorney for East Tennessee.[24] Or possibly, knowing of the plan to reorganize the courts and hoping to make himself available for a place on the proposed supreme court, he chose not to present himself for reelection. From the preceding survey of his activities and interests, however, it would seem that the main consideration in the decision was his desire to return to his former work after an interval in the senate during which he had labored to attain greater justice and efficiency in the land law and in the courts in which this law would be reviewed. By 1809, the land law had been thoroughly revised, while, the indications are, the desired court reform had taken definite shape and would become law early in the eighth assembly. With his set task this near to being accomplished, he saw no reason to continue longer in a legislative post, which was from the standpoint of salary and honor (even if choice of a profession were not considered) below the rank of the office from which he had come and back to which he felt sure he could go.

Soon after his return to the judgeship, as a member of the supreme court, White became involved in another major activity, somewhat new to him. Banking had received his favorable attention in the legislature on several occasions, one being that on which he voted for the charter of the Nashville Bank.[25] It is not surprising then that, when his duties on the supreme court proved not particularly arduous, encouragement from his friends to become head of a banking institution at Knoxville met with a favorable response. When the state legislature approved the charter of the Bank of Tennessee, November 20, 1811, White was promptly elected president.[26]

White probably undertook this venture into the field of finance as much in an endeavor to improve the monetary conditions in the West as in an attempt to increase his personal fortunes. He had grown up on the frontier where, as he later said in the United States Senate, the higher civil officials were paid in deer skins and the inferior ones in raccoon skins.[27] During the course of his stay in

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[24]Messages of the President, March 18 and 21, 1808, Records of the U. S. Senate, 10 Cong., 2 Sess., The National Archives.

[25]*Senate Journal*, 1807, pp. 103-107.

[26]Scott, *Laws of Tennessee*, II, 43-54; Rule, *op. cit.*, 250-251.

[27]Samuel G. Heiskell, *Andrew Jackson and Early Tennessee History* (Second edition, Nashville, 1920), II, 47-48; Scott, *Memoir*, 235-236. That White did not take up banking primarily for immediate personal gain is shown by the fact that at first he did not receive a salary as president of the Bank of Tennessee.

Pennsylvania for his schooling, however, he had come in contact with a different kind of currency and different methods of finance. It is conceivable, therefore, that he aspired after his return to Tennessee to aid in transforming the money economy of his own state into a well-ordered and modern system. If such was his ambition, it will be seen that it was in some measure realized.

The charter provided that the capital stock of the bank should not exceed $400,000.00, the shares to be $50.00 each. Subscriptions for stock were opened in Knoxville on January 1, 1812, and were extended shortly afterwards to citizens of fifteen eastern counties of the state, each county being allowed a maximum of 440 shares. The state became a shareholder to the extent of $20,000.00, while reserving the right to withdraw at the end of ten years. Subscriptions, payable either in scrip or in gold, might be paid in eight annual installments.[28]

When $25,000.00 had been received through subscription the stockholders met in Knoxville, in accordance with the charter act, and effected a formal organization. Besides the president they elected a cashier, Luke Lea, and a full board of directors.[29]

Immediately after this election, it became the duty of the president to go to the East to have prepared engravings and plates necessary to put the bank into operation. Some writers have been amused at the statements of the Tennessee historian J. G. M. Ramsey that White, while on this trip, also "looked into the forms of financiering which were then all unknown in the West," and that, "with the whole machinery of the first Bank of Tennessee[30] about his person and in his portmanteau, he returned to Knoxville"—as he had left it —on horseback.[31] Of course, the transportation of the entire banking equipment on horseback, if it did take place, might in a later day fittingly cause some amusement, but to assume that White learned on this trip what he knew of banking at the inception of the institution

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[28]Scott, *Laws of Tennessee*, II, 49, 52; Rule, *op. cit*, 250 ff.

[29]Henry F. Beaumont, "Thomas Emmerson—First Mayor of Knoxville," *American Historical Magazine*, VIII (1903), 187. Thomas Emmerson was one of the directors, the only one appointed by the state. Those elected by the stockholders as stated above were: John Crozier, James Park (father-in-law of Carrick White, son of H. L. White), David Campbell, Calvin Morgan, John Hillsman, Robert King, and James Dardis. It should be stated here that with a few rare exceptions, no papers of the bank were available for this study. They were destroyed by a Tennessee State Capitol employee who thought them worthless. St. George L. Sioussat, "Preliminary Report upon the Archives of Tennessee," *Annual Report* of the American Historical Association for 1906 (Washington, 1908), II, 206-207.

[30]It was the first to bear that name; the Nashville Bank was chartered in 1807 as noted above.

[31]See St. George L Sioussat, "Some Phases of Tennessee Politics in the Jackson Period," *American Historical Review*, XIV (1908), 60; anecdotes by Ramsey quoted in Scott, *Memoir*, 31. No statement has been found of the place, or places, visited by White on this trip, but it seems reasonable to suppose that Philadelphia was the main terminus of his quest.

hardly does justice to the facts in the case. White had lived for something like a year and a half in Pennsylvania, and having been while there a student of law and mathematics it is inconceivable that he returned to Tennessee without at least a slight knowledge of banking methods. Furthermore, the interval since his return in 1796, spent in law practice and on the judge's bench, must have included some training calculated to fit a reasonably apt young man for entering the banking business at a level of capability not far from that of the average American banker in the first decade of the nineteenth century.

Back in Tennessee, Judge White completed the preliminary arrangements, and the bank commenced operations on November 30, 1812.[32] The institution had a number of able friends in East Tennessee, including Governor Willie Blount.[33] But the business it transacted during the first three years was very small. Tennessee still exhibited frontier conditions, and it was to take the War of 1812 to bring the changes necessary to make the bank truly useful and successful. During that war and the attendant southern Indian campaigns, it was especially difficult to maintain appreciable business. Yet payment of all notes in specie was continued until after the Treaty of Ghent. When the effects of the spending of federal money in the state in supplying the troops began to be felt, the outlook of the bank became more encouraging.[34]

Just as it seemed that the time was ripe for phenomenal growth, however, a new and unforeseen set of conditions developed which made it necessary for the bank to suspend payment in specie. These conditions are described in the following letter which White wrote to Governor Blount on July 26, 1815, and which gives an insight into his business as it was related to the general financial trends:

> . . . . Upon being informed that the Banks in most if not all the principle cities and towns in the United States have suspended the payment of Specie; the directors of this institution took into consideration the effect which such a measure would probably have upon them, and endeavored to satisfy themselves what course it was their duty to pursue—owing to the circumstance of this bank being then in its infancy—its notes not having an extensive circulation, and the sum they had on loan not being very large . . . they believed it most correct to support a character for punctuality by promptly paying all de-

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[32]Statement of directors in Knoxville *Register*, July 18, 1827.

[33]Blount to White, August 12, 1815, Tennessee Archives, Bank Papers, Tennessee State Library.

[34]See Thomas P. Abernethy, "The Early Development of Commerce and Banking in Tennessee," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XIV (1927), 312-314. The fortunes of the bank during the war were doubtless affected to some extent also by the frequent absence from Knoxville of its president. Besides his work as supreme court judge, he made a trip in 1814 to the Creek country in an endeavor to give aid to his aged father, Brigadier General James White, and to General Jackson, who were experiencing particular hardships. James Parton, *Life of Andrew Jackson* (Boston, 1860), I, 431, 499-500; Scott, *Memoir*, 24-27.

mands against them in Specie when required . . . this they did do, and in every instance paid with readiness all demands upon them. In the early part of the present year the welcome news of peace with Great Britain was received, and not very long afterwards reading an account of what was passing in the British Parliament they found it stated that in the year 1816 the Banks in that country might be compelled to redeem their tokens with Specie . . . they then flattered themselves that as peace was restored to their own country and as there was no such demand for Specie in Great Britain, as would induce the Transportation of it from the United States . . . the pressure which they had induced would be removed- not long afterwards in common with others they were astonished with the intelligence that Napoleon was again in Paris and Emperor of the French—all calculations were to begin anew . . . late information induces the belief that the demands of Specie in Great Britain are such that it commands a premium of at least thirty per cent—that large sums of it are actually shipping from the United States with a hope of receiving this advance premium—In this state of things it may well be doubted whether the Banks will resume payments in Specie at a period which furnishes such strong inducements to drain it from them, and transport it to our late enemy—now (legally speaking) our friend—.

Laterally people of other states and in our own, having found this the only Bank acceptable to them, have procured of our notes, and as we have reason to believe are in search of more with a view to draw the amount in Specie and carry it to places from which we can expect no return.

The situation of the institution is now promising—it is more than equal to all demands upon it, but . . . Under these circumstances the Directors have felt it their duty for the present to suspend payments in Specie—determining at the same time to resume such payments, the moment other Banks shall have done so or at an earlier period should such a state of things be produced as will justify them in such a measure—

As the state has a considerable interest in the Bank I have been instructed to explain to your Excellency not only how this business has been conducted but likewise the reasons and information by which the Directors has been governed—.[35]

Blount's reply to this letter expressed complete agreement with the point of view of the directors as explained by White. The Governor termed the reasoning back of the suspension measure "satisfactory and conclusive." He promised to lay the correspondence before the next general assembly, so that the bank would be vindicated in the eyes of the legislators.[36]

White and the bank he represented were vindicated, but vindication did not spell success for the bank. Operation continued to

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[35]White to Blount, July 26, 1815, Tennessee Archives, Bank Papers. It has become a familiar tradition that the "Old State Bank," as this institution came to be called, never had to suspend specie payment. The explanation of this misconception lies in the fact that the bank did not suspend payments during the severe panic of 1819 when scarcely another bank in the West remained open. In both cases, careful, non-speculative management on the part of White is evidenced. See Abernethy, *From Frontier to Plantation in Tennessee,* 224; Scott, *Memoir,* 29-30; James Phelan, *History of Tennessee* (Boston, 1887), 265; Heiskell, *op. cit.,* I, 648-649.

[36]Blount to White, August 12, 1815, Tennessee Archives, Bank Papers; *Senate Journal,* 1815, p. 17.

be a serious struggle. Yet the salutary effects of the "Era of Good Feeling" could not be entirely quashed. The federal government soon took the currency problem in hand and by chartering the Second Bank of the United States brought pressure to bear upon the "Wild Cat" banks to reduce their unsound note issues and to resume specie payments.[37]

With resumption, plans were apparently laid by the Knoxville bank to increase its capital stock and to expand its operations. These ends could have been achieved without serious difficulty but for the general speculative tendency which, despite early attempts to control it through the national bank, swept the country along into the Panic of 1819.[38]

In the throes of panic, speculator-borrowers demanded relief. Investors and the few banks which tried to stay open, on the other hand, stood firm for their right to collect on the notes they held and looked upon the general resuspension as an effort on the part of reckless gamblers to evade their obligations.[39] East Tennessee, the area served by the Bank of Tennessee, was not caught in quite the same dilemma as the country west of the mountains where rapid expansion of cotton growing and the plantation system made the panic fall with disastrous effect. Thus, it was in part a geographic factor, rather than rare financial genius altogether, which made it possible for White to keep open the doors of his bank through the entire crisis and to redeem its notes in specie.[40]

By the time the various relief measures, sponsored by the popular Felix Grundy and his Middle Tennessee satellites, went into operation, White's attention was turning toward a broader field of interest opened up by the conclusion of the Florida Treaty with Spain.[41] While it is clear that he stood in opposition to Grundy and the New State Bank elements who favored "stay laws" and leniency for the debtor, he did not take any outstanding part in the efforts to defeat them. His bank continued in operation, and he found plenty of time to follow the law profession at the same time. His health, of serious concern to him when he resigned from the supreme court in 1815, had by the time of the panic grown steadily more discouraging.[42] All in all, conditions were not such as to inspire sus-

[37]Davis R. Dewey, *Financial History of the United States* (New York, 1920), 144, 151-154.

[38]Abernethy, "The Early Development of Commerce and Banking in Tennessee," *loc. cit.*, XIV, 319-321.

[39]Joseph Howard Parks, *Felix Grundy, Champion of Democracy* (Baton Rouge, 1940), 107-108.

[40]Knoxville *Register*, July 18, 1827.

[41]See Gresham, *The Public Career of Hugh Lawson White*, 86-126.

[42]White to John Overton, September 21, 1819, Overton Papers, Tennessee Historical Society, Nashville. On the relief measures and the establishment of the New State Bank, see Parks, *op. cit.*, 103-121, 139-147.

tained effort on his part toward making the bank a personal and institutional success.

The institution maintained a steady but slow business for eight years after 1819, and, despite attempts by the groups in the state interested in inflation to discredit it, both as to the integrity of its methods and the importance of its operations, it must have made a worthwhile contribution to the economic life of the area it served.

An excellent indication that such was the case may be seen in the evidence presented by a special committee of the state senate in 1823. This committee had been appointed to investigate charges of fraud in the banks of the state, apparently at the instigation of the old relief advocates whose schemes had already been set aside by the administration of Governor William Carroll.[43] The report began with a statement that the banks were in a "more favorable condition than your committee and (in their opinion) the Public expected."[44] It then proceeded to describe the status of the two main banks of the state, individually. The figures tend to discount the current general impression that nothing worthy of the name bank existed in Tennessee and that the institutions trying to carry on as such were doing so through questionable practices. With regard to the Knoxville bank the report stated that it owed "of debts or demandable of it" $730,349, to pay which it had, "in specie and other available funds now in possession," $548,225. This left $182,123 as a deficit of immediately available funds. But, the report continued, the bank had "of bills and notes under discount, which are generally considered to be well secured," the sum of $1,263,260. Thus, the deficit could be raised by the collection of sixteen per cent of the outstanding notes.[45]

In comparison with other leading banks of the South and West, these conditions were highly favorable.[46] For example, the older Nashville Bank had, according to the same report, debts of $823,442, immediately available funds of $405,442, and bills and notes outstanding to the amount of $1,524,753. This bank would thus be obliged to collect twenty-nine per cent of the latter amount in order to raise its deficit of available funds.[47] It would seem, therefore, that there was some ulterior motive back of the attacks upon the state banks, which had inspired the investigation. Indeed, the report itself stated by way of conclusion that the current depreciation in the cur-

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[43]Knoxville *Register*, June 5, 1821; Parks, *op. cit.*, 150-155.

[44]"Report of A. V. Brown," *Senate Journal*, 1817, pp. 146-151.

[45]*Senate Journal*, 1817, p. 149.

[46]Compare, for Georgia banks, Thomas P. Govan, Banking and the Credit System in Georgia, 1810-1860 (unpublished doctoral dissertation, Vanderbilt University, 1937), 96-99. On the condition of the Nashville Bank, see the remainder of the report, summarized in the text.

[47]*Senate Journal*, 1817, pp. 150-151.

rency had been due to "want of information in the community as to their real situation, to the intrigue and mismanagement of brokers in some of our principal towns," and to the bringing in of "foreign fabrics, to the neglect of those of domestic growth and manufacture."[48]

At best the bank was a stabilizing force of some strength in the economy of the state, more significant in this capacity than as a successful business enterprise for its directors and stockholders. Despite the soundness of its position, several factors conspired to number its days. Perhaps the most decisive of these factors was the gradual withdrawal of its chief supporter and president to other and larger fields of endeavor. Except for this circumstance, there seems to be no reason to suppose that the bank would have terminated its operations as early as 1827. Yet it is obvious that during the 1820's times changed in East Tennessee so that banks became there a secondary interest both in economy and politics. Knoxville began to be supplanted, because of neglect of roads and other transportation facilities, as the gateway to the West for mail, passenger and freight service.[49] Under these conditions, the people of the area became aroused, and internal improvements soon became the leading interest around Knoxville, with state banks becoming an unpopular political theme.[50] It is doubtful if White shared fully in this new sentiment in his section. He may have sensed the direction of the winds and decided that it would be wise to close the bank. But, whether this was true or not, by 1825 he was already too much absorbed in national affairs to give further attention to banking. From the standpoint of the management, then, and in consideration of the changing conditions around the institution, it seems that the year 1827 was a logical time for it to have been closed.

At any rate, on June 30, 1827, White tendered his resignation as president, and the bank was liquidated within a short time. In reply to the letter of resignation, the directors issued a lengthy statement. Although probably inspired in part by political motives, for White was then in the United States Senate, it presented some facts which must receive consideration in any appraisal of White's banking career. The statement reads as follows:

> The Bank of Tennessee commenced its operations on the 30th day of November, 1812. Hugh L. White has been the President thereof ever since. He has repeatedly and earnestly desired, that he might not be elected either a Director or the President, but the stockholders have uniformly been desirous to retain him and avail themselves of his services. From the 30th day

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[48] *Ibid.*, 151.

[49] Abernethy, *From Frontier to Plantation in Tennessee*, 81-82.

[50] Abernethy, "Commerce and Banking in Tennessee," *loc. cit.*, XIV, 324; Tennessee General Assembly, *House Journal*, 1826, pp. 133-134, and 1827, p. 313.

of November, 1812, to the 10th day of January, 1813, he received no salary or compensation whatever for his services. On the 9th day of January, 1815, the stockholders allowed him an annual salary of one thousand dollars, which continued till the 1st of January, 1820, at which time it was increased to fifteen hundred dollars per annum.

On the 31st of March, 1821, he was appointed a Commissioner under the Florida Treaty with Spain, which appointment he continued to hold until the 9th day of June, 1824, a little upwards of three years. When the Commission was not in session, his attention was devoted to the business of the bank; and although this was the case, he uniformly refused to receive any salary for his services, and never has received one cent for any services he rendered the bank between the 31st of March, 1821, and the 1st day of July, 1824. About the last of October, 1825, he was elected Senator of the U. S.; and since his election, he has uniformly given his attention to the business of the bank when he was not necessarily absent, and during the whole of this time, that is from the 31st of December, 1825, to this date, has received from the bank for his services, only the sum of three hundred and seventy-five dollars, equal, barely, to one quarter's salary. From the first organization of the bank to this time, it has uniformly relied upon him, for all the legal advice the Directors needed, which he has uniformly given, for which he has never demanded or received one cent in compensation. Any suits to which the bank was a party, when the business could be done at Knoxville, he has attended to as a lawyer, for which he has never asked or received one cent.

He is not a borrower of money from the bank to the amount of one dollar, and is an endorser on one note only, and that for barely three hundred dollars.

The bank has uniformly had the use of his private funds for nothing. He has, in many instances, taken journeys upon the business of the bank, when a confidential person was necessary, and in no instance has he received any compensation whatever for any such services.

Given under our hands at Knoxville, the 27th day of June, 1827:

Luke Lea, Cashier.		John Crozier)	
William Park, Ex-Cashier.		John Hillsman)	
Andrew McMillan)	Late	James Park)	
H. A. M. White,)	Clerks	David Campbell)	Directors
		Calvin Morgan)	
		Robt. King)	
		James Dardis)	

Joseph C. Strong, Former Director.[31]

What then should be the estimate of posterity with regard to Hugh Lawson White as a banker and financier? Friendly tradition tries to picture him in the role of both a genius and a paragon of the highest virtues in business. Some recent historians, in trying to be scientifically skeptical regarding the matter, have, it seems, missed the true conception about as far in the opposite direction. The foregoing survey of White's banking activities does not settle all of the

[31] Knoxville *Register*, July 18, 1827; Knoxville *Enquirer*, July 18, 1827; Scott, *Memoir*, 28-30.

questions, but it makes possible certain observations which serve to place in fair perspective his position as a banker.

From the beginning of the enterprise White probably visualized a time when the bank might become a profitable source of income for its promoters; in this sense he was not a completely disinterested public servant. Yet his attitude toward actual remuneration for his services during the fifteen years of his presidency is almost without parallel among men in similar situations. His ability as a financier may not have been sufficient, even had he devoted his full time to the task, to have made of the firm an economic organization of monopolistic proportions, but in his very conservatism and aversion to speculation lies a part of the explanation for the unusual record made by the bank. On the other hand, the section served by the bank did not encourage, because of geography, the speculative tendency. A lack, on his part, of educational fitness for the place is not indicated either in the facts regarding his training or in the history of the operation of the institution. His adaptability to the routine duties of the business may hardly be questioned. Neither may his ability to influence the directors to approve his policies. Yet his performance of the everyday tasks of the banker seems to have been more successful than were his efforts through politics to control general state financial policies. This leads to a consideration of one such political effort, which came as an interlude to the banking career—his return for another term in the state senate.

In 1817 White, now free from the judgeship of the supreme court and devoting his time chiefly to the Bank of the State of Tennessee, found himself for the second time in a situation which, he felt, called for a temporary resort to politics. Again, he must have had in mind certain definite legislative goals. James C. Campbell wrote from Knoxville to Colonel David Campbell at Abingdon, Virginia, just at the opening of the legislature, "Judge White is thought to be in conclave about something, but what project he has in view no person I believe is able to divine."[52] We now know that the "project" White had "in view" was the blocking of a scheme sponsored by Felix Grundy and sixty Nashville merchants to establish a branch of the newly created Second Bank of the United States in their town.[53] White, leading the investor class in the state and supported by those who had become suspicious of banks generally, de-

[52]Letter of October 17, 1817, Governor David Campbell Papers, Duke University Library. Microfilm copy in Joint University Library, Nashville. James Campbell was a brother of Colonel David Campbell, later governor of Virginia. The latter was a nephew of Judge David Campbell of Tennessee. See "Campbell Collection of Manuscripts," typewritten sketches of Campbell family, for use with Governor David Campbell Papers, Joint University Library.

[53] Nashville *Whig and Tennessee Advertiser*, February 7, 1818; Scott, *Memoir*, 19-20; Parks, *op. cit.*, 217-218.

termined to block the move.

It is stated by White's granddaughter and repeated in other places that in the senatorship election of 1817 the Judge received "every vote but one in Knox County." How this idea originated it is difficult to explain, for the election returns in the Knoxville *Register,* August 14, 1817, listed 1248 votes for White to 401 for his opponent, James Anderson. This is a good majority, but does not show anything like unaimity of opinion.[54]

Upon the opening of the legislature at Knoxville, September 15, 1817, White immediately assumed a position of leadership. Again he was appointed to the committee to draft the "Rules of Decorum," reporting back a more extensive list than that of 1807 had been.[55] Again he was placed on the land claims committee and on a special committee to consider Cherokee land claims.[56] For several weeks he engaged in committee work and routine business, no evidence appearing in the records of what his "project" might be. During this time he presented petitions for the relief of certain unfortunate citizens,[57] and introduced a bill to prohibit the county courts in the state from issuing licenses to "free negroes and mulattoes to retail spiritous liquors."[58] He is also credited with having drafted the bill "more effectually to prohibit duelling."[59]

On the last issue White seems to have had quite definite feelings, which were not shared by some public men in the state. Long accustomed as he was to look to the law for settlement of disputes, he must have had, besides, a natural abhorrence of the practice of "setting at naught one's own life, the life of an antagonist, and the peace and happiness of the many interested on either side."[60] It is said that he refused to admit that duelling was the proper means of defending one's honor, maintaining that it required greater courage to refuse to fight under such "Laws of honor" than to accept a challenge. This accords quite well with his general character, and is corroborated by his support of the bill in the senate.[61] The bill, as

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[54]Scott, *Memoir,* 19; Caldwell, *op. cit.,* 114.

[55]*Senate Journal,* 1817, pp. 17-19. White had served on this committee in his earlier senate term.

[56]*Ibid.,* 19-25.

[57]*Ibid.,* 56, 68, 70, 81.

[58]*Ibid.,* 82.

[59]Scott, *Laws of Tennessee,* II, 364-365; *Public Acts,* 1817, pp. 92-94; Scott, *Memoir,* 23.

[60]Scott, *Memoir,* 23; Parton, *op. cit.,* I, 264.

[61]Scott, *Memoir,* 231; *Senate Journal,* 1817, p. 92. White also voted for a bill, passed in the same session, "more effectually to suppress the vice of gaming." *Ibid.,* 84; Scott, *Laws of Tennessee,* II, 351-352.

Later, during the heated debates on the question of rechartering the Second Bank of the United States, when White was in the United States Senate, he wrote that there was a great disposition "manifested by some" to appeal to the trial by battle. "No man," he said, could tell "when or with whom" he was to be "involved." Yet he resolved to "do all that a prudent man ought to do to avoid difficulties, but should it

passed, required every civil, military, executive, and judicial officer of the state to take, prior to taking his oath of office, an oath affirming that he had not given or accepted a challenge to a duel, or been a second or bearer of a challenge, and that he would not do so during his continuance in office.[62]

Another act of this assembly which bears White's stamp was designed to fill a long-time need, inherent in frontier conditions, in court practice. It prohibited clerks or justices of the peace in the county courts from acting as attorneys in cases being tried in the same courts.[63] The years when it was necessary for the superior court judges to act as attorneys because of lack of lawyers had undoubtedly impressed the Judge with the need for this legislation, and it was probably highly gratifying to him to see that the time had come when a law of this kind could be workable.

After ten years of disappointment over the failure of the state to secure the expected benefits in wealth and educational advancement from sale of her public lands, Judge White returned to the problem with his colleagues in this session. It was hoped that definite legislation could be effected to open up the lands occupied by the Cherokee and Chickasaw Indians within the state, for which treaties of removal had already been executed.[64] A beginning was made in this direction by the passage of an act to provide for making entries on land "for which the Indian title had lately been extinguished."[65] Nothing further was achieved by the twelfth assembly. Indeed it was a far cry until Tennessee would realize from her lands appreciable profits through which education might be adequately supported.[66]

Another attempt by the Knoxville senator to contribute to cultural advancement in his state was the sponsoring of an act to incorporate the Knoxville Library Company. Among the members of

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be my lot to have them forced upon me, my reliance is that Providence will guide me through them safely." Scott, *Memoir*, 80-81. This was after afflictions and disappointments had driven the Judge to a degree of bitterness he had not known in his earlier career.

[62]*Senate Journal*, 1817, p. 92.

[63]*Ibid.*, 58, 59.

[64]Edward T. Sanford, *Blount College and the University of Tennessee* (Knoxville, 1894), Appendix B, 85-101; Charles C. Royce, *The Cherokee Nation of Indians, Annual Report* of the U. S. Bureau of American Ethnology, 1883-1884 (Washington, 1887), 208-221.

[65]*Public Acts*, 1817, pp. 60-62; Scott, *Laws of Tennessee*, II, 344-346.

[66]Moses White, *Early History of the University of Tennessee* (Knoxville, 1879), 18-21; Sanford, *op. cit.*, Appendix B; Rule, *op. cit.*, 354-356. One of the chief reasons why the educational facilities in Tennessee had not gained from the land sales in the state was that collection of the money due from such sales had not been made. The legislature had, in practically every session since 1807, passed bills suspending payment of the money because of hard times. White himself voted for such a law in the 1817 session. See *Public Acts*, 1817, p. 97; *Senate Journal*, 1817, p. 161.

the corporation, whose charter was approved by the legislature, November 15, 1817, were such names as C. A. C. White, lawyer son of Hugh L. White (also a member), Pleasant M. Miller, Judge Thomas Emmerson, Judge Edward Scott, F. S. Heiskell, Thomas Craighead, Spencer Jarnigan, David Campbell, Pryor Lea, Calvin Morgan, and Dr. William Park, all citizens of the first rank.[67] The effort seems not to have contributed markedly toward making Knoxville the cultural and educational center of East Tennessee, but it does indicate a purpose set in that direction, on the part of the promoters of the corporation.[68]

This term in the legislature also gives an opportunity to observe White's early attitude on an issue which would assume much greater importance in later years, namely, that of slavery. The family held several slaves, and White himself usually took a servant with him when making long trips; but plantation slavery was probably not as vital to the family economy as it was to that of the larger planters in the cotton areas of the South.[69] At this particular time, owing to a growing interest in East Tennessee in emancipation and colonization movements, petitions and memorials in behalf of such schemes were not uncommon in the state legislature. White took the lead in bringing these documents before the senate in the 1817 session.[70] On one occasion, near the end of the session, he voted for a resolution, lost by a vote of nine to nine, calling upon the United States to devise a plan for colonizing "free people of color in a distant country."[71] There is nothing in his early record, so far as it is known, to indicate that he was an abolitionist, but these facts are rather interesting in the light of his later defensive policy toward slavery while in the United States Senate.

All these items constitute legislation in which, it is plain to be seen, White had more than a casual interest. Yet they do not strike one as being that "project" which James Campbell had learned about as the motive for the Judge's return to the legislative halls. As previously suggested, the real incentive back of the move was his inter-

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[67]*Senate Journal*, 1817, pp. 117-118.

[68]George F. Mellen, Scrapbook, No. 3, p. 162, Tennessee State Library.

[69]Scott, *Memoir*, 439-440. In 1835, Hugh L. White reported the following property on which he paid taxes: land, 12,207 acres; slaves, 24; town lot, 60 ft. L; carriages, 2. Minutes of the Knox County Court, Book No. 16, 1835-1840, p. 42.

It seems likely that were the sources available for a study of the subject, White's private business interests and activities might prove worthy of more than the casual attention which is given to them, of necessity, in this paper. After he left the state senate, at the close of the session treated above, he became a director of the Alabama and East Tennessee Steamboat Company, of which John Coffee was president. Not a great deal is known of the outcome of this venture. See Gordon T. Chappell, The Life and Activities of John Coffee (unpublished Ph. D. dissertation, Vanderbilt University, 1941), 221-222.

[70]*Senate Journal*, 1817, pp. 100, 138, 211.

[71]*Ibid.*, 211.

est in state banking.

With the strong sentiment, by 1817, in favor of the establishment of a branch of the Second Bank of the United States in Nashville, the state banking interests became fearful that their own efforts to expand would be jeopardized by the entrance upon the scene of a new institution, which would have federal support. Consequently, the two strongest state banks, the Nashville Bank and the Bank of the State of Tennessee at Knoxville, led the fight through Senator White to oppose the establishment of the proposed branch.[72]

White first attacked the problem by attempting to get bills approved to increase the capital stock of his own and other state banks, so as to make them financially twice as strong as they then were. These bills were uniformly defeated by the Middle Tennessee group backed by such businessmen-politicians as William Carroll and Andrew Jackson.[73] The effort was continued, however, until at last a comprehensive banking system on a state basis was erected.[74]

Two acts embodied the system. The first effectively disposed of the national bank branch. The real nature of this stringent and far-reaching measure was scarcely concealed in its involved caption as "AN ACT supplemental to an act to amend an act, to condense and to bring into one view, the Revenue Laws of this state, and to amend the same." Its first section provided that all stock in the banks operating in Tennessee, except that which had been subscribed by the state and that which was to go to the colleges, should be taxed to the amount of ten cents per year on each one hundred dollars. Section 2 was the core of the entire act, and, so far as White was concerned at least, the part for which, chiefly, the measure was promulgated. It reads as follows:

> Be it enacted, That if any bank, or banking establishment, not chartered by the laws of this state . . . shall hereafter be opened, established, kept or used . . . as a banking house, or office of discount and deposit, at any place in this state, such bank, or banking association . . . shall be liable to pay a tax to this state of fifty thousand dollars, for each and every year the same shall be conducted, carried on, or used for banking purposes . . . .[75]

The remainder of the act detailed machinery for the collection, forcibly if necessary, of the tax money. Section 5 forbade the sheriff,

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[72]John Catron to James K. Polk, June 17, 1837, Polk Papers, Manuscripts Division, Library of Congress; Phelan, *op. cit.*, 258-264.

[73]It should be observed that there was not always a complete accord of ideas and policies between Jackson and White, even this early. Twenty years later White was to use Jackson's position on the 1817 bank issue with telling effect after the breach between them was complete. Scott, *Memoir*, 19-23, 229-232.

White desired to increase the capital of his own and the Nashville Bank from $200,000.00 to $400,000.00, through the sale of shares of fifty dollars each. *Senate Journal*, 1817, pp. 141, 168, 169.

[74]*Public Acts*, 1817, pp. 138-141, 163, 180.

[75]*Ibid.*, 138-139; Scott, *Laws of Tennessee*, II, 390.

or collector, "to receive any note on any of the banks of the state of Pennsylvania in discharge of the same, other than notes on some bank in the city of Philadelphia."[76]

The second measure set up the state banking system which was calculated to fill the place the national bank branch would have occupied. It appears from the votes in all of this legislation that the two main banks in the state, after being consistently defeated in attempts to strengthen themselves by getting their stock increased, struck, near the middle of the session, a bargain with assemblymen from a number of small towns. These local interests had given little support to proposals designed to strengthen the Knoxville and Nashville banks, but apparently were willing, when the offer was made, to pay that price for banking charters for their own towns. At any rate, on November 15, 1817, the assembly passed an act establishing banks at Gallatin, Carthage, Rogersville, Kingston, Winchester, Columbia, Fayetteville, Maryville, Shelbyville, and Murfreesboro.[77] These banks might at any time upon agreement with the Nashville or Knoxville bank become branches of either of them, provided as much as $20,000.00 had actually been subscribed to each bank so wishing to merge itself with the older institution. The distribution of the votes indicates that the commercial interests were pleased by the prospect of securing credit from state banks, and it is doubtful that they were thereafter particularly interested in a national bank. Credit, not credit from any particular kind of institution, was what they wanted.[78] In fact, when the national bank began to exert pressure on the state banks, public sentiment in the commercial areas seems to have been decidedly with the state institutions.[79]

Although not everything is exactly clear concerning White's designs in this session's banking legislation, the conclusion can scarcely be avoided that he was trying to erect a powerful financial organization, with himself at its head, which would, first, bring profit to state investment and secondly, support improvements in transportation and other legitimate interests calculated to further

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[76]Of course, "some bank in the city of Philadelphia" would include the Second Bank of the United States.

[77]*Public Acts*, 1817, pp. 163-180. Other banking acts passed at this session created the Franklin Bank and increased the stock of the Holston Bank from $200,000.00 to $400,000.00 to match the increase in the Nashville and Knoxville banks' stock. *Ibid.*, 120-121, 118-120.

[78]*Democratic Clarion and Tennessee Gazette*, September 16, 1817, January 20, 1818; Darby to McMinn, January 12, 1818, Governor McMinn Papers, Tennessee State Library, Nashville; Abernethy, "Commerce and Banking in Tennessee," *loc. cit.*, XIV, 314.

[79]*Democratic Clarion and Tennessee Gazette*, February 3, November 17, 1818, June 15, 1819; Claude A. Campbell, *The Development of Banking in Tennessee* (Nashville, 1932), 36.

Tennessee's advance from the frontier status. In trying to do so he found it necessary to cooperate with the banking interests in the Nashville area and to compromise with the ambitious prospective investor class of the smaller towns. Furthermore, he had to erect an effective barrier against the establishment of a branch of the national bank. This does not mean that he had no constitutional scruples on the subject of the national bank, and only a jealous regard for his private interests, but it seems a safe deduction that considerations of both constitutionality and financial interest were involved in the formation of his policies.[80]

The 1817 banking set-up went a long way toward satisfying his desires, but there is evidence that White intended to continue the effort in the next assembly to get the small banks, or part of them, actually incorporated as branches of his own, and even to effect a merger of the Nashville and Knoxville banks, thus achieving a strong unified state system.[81] He allowed his name to be used as a candidate for reelection to the senate from Knox County in 1819, which seems to have been regarded as equivalent to his election.[82] But when the election returns were released in August Thomas L. Williams was listed as Knox County senator.[83]

This result has not yet been satisfactorily explained, but a number of plausible theories are suggested by the evidence. In the first place, the condition of the banks by election time had made it clear that the business could not be profitable for some years even if the unified scheme White had envisioned were erected. The Panic of 1819 had taken hold upon the county, and many of the new banks had already been forced to close their doors almost before they began operations. Even the Nashville Bank had suspended specie payments in June, 1819.[84] Perhaps there was still some incentive for White to return to the legislature, in order to block Grundy's plans for "relief" and a state-owned and state-operated bank.[85] One reason why he did not may have been the prospect that

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[80]*Cf.* Thomas P. Abernethy, "Andrew Jackson and the Rise of Southwestern Democracy," *American Historical Review*, XXXIII (1927), 66. Considering White's private interests at the time of the attempt by Grundy, Jackson, and others to establish the branch national bank at Nashville, and considering furthermore that this same commercially-minded group gave support to the state banking system when attacked by the national bank, it would hardly seem fair to lend full sympathy to White's later attacks on these men over the bank issue after the split in the Jackson party. See Scott, *Memoir*, 20-22; Gresham, The Public Career of Hugh Lawson White, 328-329.

[81]No second session of the twelfth assembly was held, one reason being the necessity for moving the capital from Knoxville to Murfreesboro. The resolution to make the move passed the senate by a vote of 10 to 9, White voting in the negative, of course. *Senate Journal*, 1817, pp. 204-205.

[82]Nashville *Whig and Tennessee Advertiser*, July 3, 1819.

[83]*Ibid.*, August 14, 1819. Thomas Williams was a brother of Colonel John Williams, White's brother-in-law.

[84]*Ibid.*, June 26, 1819.

[85]Parks, *op cit.*, 106-107.

seemed to be opening up to him for a federal position under the treaty with Spain concerning Florida.[86] At any rate,willingly or unwillingly on his part, he did not return to the state senate, but was instead drawn away from the local scene, and from his banking interests, and thereafter became a national rather than a state figure.

It has been stressed that in all probability White had no long-time political ambitions on either of the two occasions when he entered the Tennessee senate for a single term. In 1807 his chief motive was to give himself, and his experience as a judge in the courts where land cases were predominant, to the task of clarifying and simplifying the land law. In doing this he would not only give satisfaction to the occupants of the lands, but would also make his own duties less arduous when he returned to the bench. He also aimed at reform of the court system, in which he had held a prominent position. Ten years later, having left the judgeship partly for reasons of health, he returned to the legislature in order to promote his then major interest of banking. When it seemed that banking on the basis of his ideas could no longer be furthered by his presence in the senate, he withdrew and entered another avenue to advancement that was just opening up.

On his ability as a politician, it is difficult to form an exact estimate. From the standpoint of technical knowledge of how the specific tasks he set for himself ought to be accomplished, he must have been outstanding in his time and place. Unquestionably, he was respected throughout the state both as an authority on the law and as a financier. Hence, no great amount of political acumen was needed for him to get his favorite measures enacted, at least somewhat in the form that he wanted them. But he early acquired the reputation of not soliciting any office to which he was chosen, and while this rule may have applied to others in the first two decades of the century,[87] it probably was true in a special sense with Judge White. The significant question is not, however, whether he sought or did not seek office on his own initiative (for friends and associates with the same interests as his could always conveniently bring him out), but whether or not he had the political aptitude and personal qualities essential to success when political wires were to be pulled and clever approaches made, either to get into office or to steer a successful course through a maze of controversial issues once he was elected.

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[86]Gresham, "The Public Career of Hugh Lawson White," *loc. cit.*, III, 296-299. White was also becoming interested at this time in the Alabama and East Tennessee Steamboat Company.

[87]*Cf.* Nathan Sargent, *Public Men and Events from the Commencement of Mr. Monroe's Administration in 1817, to the Close of Mr. Fillmore's Administration in 1853* (Philadelphia, 1875), I, 85.

Concerning his political demeanor at the time of the 1817 session, one contemporary account gives some light, to add to what may be gained from examining the impersonal official records and occasional newspaper items. James C. Campbell, of the famous Virginia and Tennessee family, wrote from Knoxville, in October, 1817, to his brother, Colonel David Campbell, stating that he had met several members of the legislature. He described them as plain, honest men "with good natural understandings," but "without much cultivation." White, he referred to as a "shrewd, animated reasoner" who was listened to "with great attention."[88] His pronunciation was "frequently awkward and incorrect" and "the higher order of eloquence" he was "incapable of reaching. By the side of Wirt, Tazewell or Watkins Leigh he is a mere pigmy," was the conclusion. Yet, Campbell admitted, "I have no doubt that his mind is a very respectable one. Its principle [*sic*] traits are I expect quickness and accurateness."

It would now seem feasible to think of White as a successful politician in his western environment, where his experience and mental qualities were outstanding and where the capacity he had for political influence was excelled by few of his compatriots.[89] On the other hand, it should be remembered that the circumstances with which he had been surrounded had not encouraged or necessitated the cultivation of some of the political attributes which James Campbell thought to be lacking in him. It is true that in 1817 he was forty-three years old, but with a stimulus to do so and with the opportunities presented by a new environment it might have appeared possible that he would in time bring his personal faculties for political appeal to match his mental qualifications. Both the stimulus and the opportunities soon came to him, with the result that he eventually achieved wide recognition as a politician in the national sphere.

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[88]Letters of October 18 and 21, 1817, Governor David Campbell Papers.

[89]Campbell gave the opinion in his letter of October 21, cited above, that "White, Trimble and Ward are the only men in the Legislature who have any pretensions to talents." The others he described as a "miserable set." Making allowances for a little state pride on the part of the young Virginian, the characterization of White given in the text should be fairly accurate. The Campbells would have had some inclination to look with ill-favor on White because of past relations between James and Hugh Lawson White and the Tennessee David Campbell of the same family. *Senate Journal*, 1803, pp. 36, 54, 58, 59; Samuel C. Williams, *History of the Lost State of Franklin* (New York, 1933), 197.

QUAKER MIGRATION TO THE WESTERN WATERS

By Dorothy Lloyd Gilbert*

"Sometimes they have emigrated like bees in regular and connected swarms," wrote Crévecoeur in opening his description of the migration of Nantucket Quakers to New Garden, in Guilford County, North Carolina.[1] In the decade in which *Letters from an American Farmer* was being written, the last important migration was coming into New Garden;[2] in the next, the 1780's, the first of the migrations westward had started from that meeting.

One of these "regular and connected swarms" of Quakers, consisting of eight families belonging to the New Garden Meeting, settled in the late 1780's on "the western waters," as the Holston River and its tributaries in East Tennessee were often called in the period before Tennessee became a state and received an official name. By 1792 they were joined by other families who belonged to various monthly meetings of the same quarterly meeting. This migration into the Tennessee Valley becomes particularly interesting as it illustrates the care with which a Quaker meeting supervised the activities of its members, and also the principles involved in emigration, as well as the general pattern of Quaker migration.

The exact date of the migration to the "western waters" is hard to establish. Friends had settled at Tom's Creek in Surry County, North Carolina, as early as 1772, for on 8/29/1772 New Garden minutes[3] recorded the fact that "Friends near the mountains[4]

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* William Wade Hinshaw, the compiler of *Encyclopedia of American Quaker Genealogy*, suggested the subject of this article and offered many suggestions. The author gratefully acknowledges his assistance.

[1] St. John de Crèvecouer's description of New Garden (which he never visited) presents a glowing picture: "No spot on earth can be more beautiful, it is composed of gentle hills, of easy declivities, excellent low lands accompanied by different brooks which traverse the settlement. I never saw a soil that rewards man so early for their labours and disbursements." *Letters from an American Farmer* (Everyman edition, New York, 1912), 133.

[2] A meeting for worship was established at New Garden in 1751, a monthly meeting in 1754. Between 1754 and 1770 eighty-six certificates, many for whole families, were received: forty-five from Pennsylvania, thirty-five from Virginia, one from Maryland, and four from north-eastern North Carolina. Between 1771 and 1775, forty-one certificates were received from Nantucket. Stephen B. Weeks, *Southern Quakers and Slavery* (Baltimore, 1896), 105, 108. (Certificates were not issued for the thirty families or so who were already in the neighborhood when the meeting was set off from Cane Creek Meeting in 1754.) The Friends Meeting still bears the name New Garden, but the community is now called Guilford College. It is six miles west of Greensboro.

[3] Minutes and records kept by the Society of Friends are dated according to the plain language; that is, numerals are used rather than names of heathen deities. Fox

request the indulgence of holding meetings on week-days among them-selves" and the privilege was granted after a committee had made a visit of inspection. In the years following, Friends visited the meeting carefully; in 1784 it became a preparative meeting and in 1786 a monthly meeting, its name then being changed to Westfield.[5] At each stage of its development, official representatives were sent over the mountain roads to visit it. Names of three such groups were contained in the New Garden Monthly Meeting Minutes and two others in the minutes of Western Quarter — a total of twenty-seven men, nine of whom had been appointed on two such missions and two on three. In the 1780's Friends knew the road that led toward Tennessee.[6] In addition to the Westfield Meeting, actually located in North Carolina, but composed also of Friends over the border in Virginia and in Greene and Jefferson counties, Tennessee, there was also a meeting at Nolichucky, located in

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exhorted the early Friends: "My dear brethren in the covenant of life, keep to Yea and Nay, and call the days first-day, second-day, third-day, fourth-day, fifth-day, sixth-day, and seventh-day, as they were given forth and called by God in the beginning." William C. Braithwaite, *The Beginnings of Quakerism* (London, 1912), 130-40.

In this article the first numeral refers to the month, the second to the day. The word meeting is applied to all assemblies for worship and for business, and the place of meeting is called a meeting house, not a church.

The minutes for monthly, quarterly, and yearly meetings are manuscript books belonging to North Carolina Yearly Meeting and kept in the vault at Guilford College, North Carolina.

[4] "Uriah Carson, an inhabitor of Toms Creek near the mountains, makes request to be joined in membership with Friends of this meeting, which is granted accordingly." New Garden Monthly Meeting Minutes, 5/29/1773. This minute makes the identification of Tom's Creek with the unnamed meeting near the mountains certain.

[5] This meeting developed according to the regular pattern as it was first a meeting for worship, then a preparative meeting, and finally a monthly meeting. Only the monthly meeting could transact business, and until Westfield had its own monthly meeting all matters of business had to be carried back to New Garden Monthly Meeting, which had established it. The preparative meeting appointed representatives and through them referred all matters open for discussion to the monthly meeting. The genealogical records were kept by the monthly meeting, certificates of removal were issued and received by it, and it exercised close supervision over the preparative meetings and over the conduct of its own members. Questions which it did not feel free to decide were referred to the quarterly meeting to which each monthly meeting sent representatives four times a year, and the quarterly meeting referred difficult matters of business, policy, and conduct to the yearly meeting. This meeting then belonged to New Garden Monthly Meeting until it became a monthly meeting; after that Western Quarterly Meeting was its superior meeting until New Garden Quarterly Meeting was set up in 1787. The Yearly Meeting to which it belonged was North Carolina Yearly Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends.

[6] In 1783 New Garden Monthly Meeting appointed Francis Clark, Enoch Macy, Timothy Russell, Stephen Gardner, Jesse Williams, Silas Williams, and John Canady; in 1784 John Talbott, Seth Coffin, William Tomlinson, John Beals, Jr., and Hezekiah Sanders; in 1786 Micajah Terrel, Nathan Hunt, Thomas Thornbrugh, Jr., John Thomas, Silas Williams, Aaron Mendenhall, Strangeman Stanley, and Jepson Williams. In 1784 Western Quarter appointed a committee consisting of John Talbott, Hezekiah Sanders, John Carter, James Woody, Thomas Winslow, John Beals, Jr., Seth Coffin, and William Tomlinson; in 1786 the committee named by the quarter consisted of John Beals, Jr., John Talbott, Obediah Harris, Thomas Winslow, John Hoggatt, William Tomlinson, Wlliam Hill, and Seth Coffin.

Greene County, Tennessee.[7] New Garden Friends were much concerned over it from 1783 until they granted it the privilege of holding meetings for worship in 1785 and until Westfield Monthly Meeting assumed some responsibility for it after 1786. It was set up as a monthly meeting in 1795 with the name Newhope.

Nolichucky was first mentioned in the minutes of New Garden Monthly Meeting, 8/30/1783: "This meeting taking under Consideration Several families of friends that have some time ago removed from here to Nolachuckey, Refers the matter to next meeting." A visiting committee was appointed at the next meeting to "Inspect into their Situation & Circumstances & wheather their being there tends to the Honour of Truth or not." Their report, given 12/27/1783, was that it had "not tended much to the Honour of Truth" yet they were "of the Mind that there are some tender Minds among them which Deserves the Notice of their friends."

The next time that Nolichucky was mentioned, a new aspect of the problem appeared. On 4/24/1784 New Garden Meeting received certificates of removal from the Monthly Meeting of Bush River[8] in Newberry County, South Carolina, for "friends who had moved to the western water to Nolichuckay." Thus it becomes evident that the settlement at Nolichucky consisted of two groups of Friends — those from North Carolina and those from South Carolina. It was customary for the monthly meeting nearest to a new settlement to assume its supervision and to receive the certificates forwarded to it from the meetings which the settlers had left; but on this occasion, New Garden "not being free to Receive them think proper to Lay it before the Quaterly Meet. for their Brotherly Advice & Counsil therein." The decision of the quarterly meeting, made 8/5/1784, was as follows:

> New Garden Monthly Meeting Requests advice of this meeting whether it will be best for them to receive Every Certificate that may be produced by members of Other meetings who have removed to Nolachuna or Elsewhere upon the western waters. Which this meeting takes notice and gives it as its sense and Judgment that it will be best for them to receive no such Certificates until further care be taken.

It is quite unusual for one meeting to refuse certificates from another on the advice of the quarterly meeting to which both belong;

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[7] Territory is identified here by names which were not current at the time, Tennessee not being the official designation until 1796. Nolichucky was located ten miles east of the present town of Greeneville. There is no Friends settlement there now bearing the early name Nolichucky or the later name Newhope.

[8] Bush River Monthly Meeting was set up by Western Quarterly Meeting in North Carolina in 1770, but the minutes seem to indicate that it did not meet until 4th month 1772. It was laid down in 1822, but emigration into Ohio had depleted its membership so that it had not been active after 1808. Thomas W. Marshall, "Bush River Monthly Meeting," W. W. Hinshaw, *Encyclopedia of American Quager Genealogy* (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1936—), I, 1015.

thus this action gives evidence of the very strong sense of responsibility with which New Garden regarded frontier meetings — it did not propose to accept a group of members at such a distance even on recommendation of the meeting from which they had come.

One phrase in the minute is especially significant: "Nolachuna [*sic*] or Elsewhere upon the western waters." It is likely that this is the first reference to the Lost Creek settlement in the Holston Valley in Jefferson County, Tennessee, since "the western waters" was a term much used in connection with the Holston River. The first North Carolina settler at Lost Creek, John Mills, is thought to have gone there the year in which this minute was recorded, 1784.[9]

In 1786 New Garden sent a committee to Nolichucky and to Chestnut Creek.[10] Their report, delivered 12/30/1786, stated that they "were of the Judgment that to Continue the Meeting of Nolachunkey would be best and the meeting of Chestnut Creek they apprehended to be out of order and that they needed help but thought it might be best Still to Indulge them for further Tryal." The meeting concurred and "considered them in futer to be under the care of Westfield Monthly Meeting," which had just been set up. Thus New Garden Monthly Meeting had supervised Westfield, Nolichucky, and Chestnut Creek, visiting each frequently during the critical period of growth and development. The meeting was thoroughly familiar with the Tennessee country.

Emigration was in the air, and the Holston River valley beckoned. The emigration took place before 1787, for in October of that year New Garden Monthly Meeting Minutes contain the first direct mention of Friends at Lost Creek on the Holston River "who Remain members of Divers monthly meetings in this Quarter from whence they have Removed and are now desirous to hold meetings among themselves."

Eight families from New Garden Meeting were named in a group when their certificates were finally granted five years later, so there is no uncertainty about the names,[11] but the time of their

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[9] Thomas W. Marshall, "Lost Creek Monthly Meeting," Hinshaw, *op. cit.* I, 1101, quoting Cora M. Payne, *Genealogy of the Maulsby Family* (1902), 30. Lost Creek was between the present towns of Newmarket and Strawberry Plains in Jefferson County. The Quaker community there now is called Friends' Station; the meeting-house is still called Lost Creek.

[10] Chestnut Creek Meeting was in Grayson County, Virginia, and was settled by Friends from New Jersey about 1785. Their certificates were sent first to Deep River Monthly Meeting in North Carolina, the meeting nearest to Chestnut Creek, and then to Westfield when it became a monthly meeting, and finally to Mount Pleasant Meeting when it was established in Grayson County in 1807. Chestnut Creek never become a monthly meeting. (Details supplied by W. W. Hinshaw, compiler of *Encyclopedia of American Quaker Geneaology.*)

[11] The families from New Garden were as follows (unless otherwise specified they came from Guilford County). All except the Sumners had children whose names

departure is another matter. Traditionally, John Mills is supposed to have gone to the Holston River Valley in 1784; Richard Haworth likewise is believed to have gone earlier than 1786;[12] but heads of families were sometimes advised by the meeting to go ahead and investigate conditions before they moved their families into the "backward settlements."

Deeds preserved in the Guilford County courthouse throw some light on the subject since heads of four of the eight families signed deeds in 1785 and 1786. Richard Haworth deeded his farm near New Garden to John Thomas, the indenture being signed August 1, 1785; Jesse and Hannah Baldwin's deed for land on Deep River is dated February 7, 1786; William and Margaret Hinshaw's deed for land near New Garden is dated March 20, 1786; and John and Sarah Mills deeded a tract near Center Meeting House to Henry Macy on 3/23/1786. The deed describes this farm as "the land on which he now lives"; so his legal residence was still in North Carolina in that year.

In this period, New Garden Monthly Meeting exercised supervision over frontier meetings since it was nearer to them than was any other North Carolina meeting. Therefore, it received certificates

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are given in the certificates of removal quoted later:

1. Jesse Baldwin (s. of William and Elizabeth) m. 12/15/1779 at Deep River Hannah Thornbrugh (d. of Henry and Hannah).
2. Moses Ballinger (s. of Henry and Hannah) and his wife Hannah. Moses Ballinger married out of unity and was disowned 1/29/1763. Received into membership again before 1785.
3. William Beals (s. of John and Margaret) m. 10/19/1760. Rachel Green (d. of James of Roan County).
4. Richard Haworth m. c. 1765 Ann Dillon at Hopewell, Frederick County, Virginia. Certificates granted to New Garden 11/4/1771.
5. William Hinshaw (s. of William and Sarah Courtenay Hinshaw) m. 5/16/1782 Margaret Hunt (d. of William and Sarah Mills Hunt).
6. Jeremiah Horn (s. of Nathaniel) m. 3/16/1783 Judith Unthank (d. of Thomas and Abigail Brown Thornbrugh and widow of Joseph Unthank).
7. John Mills (s. of John and Sarah Beals Mills, Roan County) m. 1/28/1761 Sarah Millikan (d. of William Millikan, Roan County).
8. William Sumner (s. of Robert and Phebe) m. 3/20/1771 Eleanor Edwards (d. of Hanuel Edwards).

There are several family ties in this group: John Mills, William Sumner, and Margaret Hunt Hinshaw's mother, Sarah Mills Hunt, were grandchildren of John and Sarah Bowater Beals. Jesse Baldwin's brother William had married their aunt. Their uncle, Thomas Beals, was a pioneer Friend greatly interested in migration. See Harlow Lindley, "Thomas Beals, First Friend's Minister in Ohio," *Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Quarterly*, LIII (1944), 55-60. Judith Horn and Hannah Baldwin were cousins; thus the Ballinger and Haworth families were the only ones not bound by ties of relationship. It is not certain that these two families went at the same time as the others.

Genealogical footnotes were suggested by William Wade Hinshaw and compiled from his book, *Encyclopedia of American Quaker Genealogy*, I, which contains items from minutes and family records kept by the oldest meetings belonging to North Carolina Yearly Meeting.

[12] Information from Samuel L. Haworth, professor emeritus at Guilford College and great-grandson of Richard Haworth.

for Friends planning to move west. On 8/26/1786 Jesse and Hannah Baldwin and their children were received at New Garden on certificate from Deep River; and on 9/30/1786 John and Sarah Mills, William and Rachel Beals and their families were received on certificate from Center Meeting. It would seem that these families were arranging things temporal and things spiritual as they departed for new territory; yet it would not be necessary for them to be present at a meeting to be received into membership. Therefore these dates are not so definitive as they seem at first glance.

A few other bits of evidence may be gathered from quarterly meeting minutes. William Beals was present at Western Quarter as a representative from Center, 5/16/1785, and was appointed to visit Cane Creek in South Carolina on 8/15/1785, but did not sign the certificate when his daughter Lydia married Aaron Tyson at Center on 11/2/1786. John Mills, a prominent Friend, is not mentioned in quarterly meeting minutes after 8/14/1784, but he signed the marriage certificate when his daughter Jane was married to John Davis on 10/21/1784 at Center. Moses Ballinger and his family had left New Garden by 1786, for on 2/25/1786 he was named as the representative from Tom's Creek (as Westfield was first called) to New Garden Monthly Meeting. By 1791 the Ballinger family was in the Holston Valley since their names occur in the certificate granted then.

Cane Creek (North Carolina), Center, Deep River, and Springfield were the other "divers meetings," but since they did not grant the certificates of removal in single groups as New Garden did, it is somewhat difficult to know who their first settlers at Lost Creek were. The names considered are those of persons and families who presented certificates as soon as Lost Creek was set up as a monthly meeting and thus was authorized to receive them.

Thomas Chapman was the leading figure in the small migration from Cane Creek Meeting.[13] He was received at New Garden on certificate from Cane Creek in 1783, but his certificate to Westfield was also granted by Cane Creek in 1792. He was probably in Tennessee before he had his membership transferred to New

[13] Members from Cane Creek who became members at Lost Creek in 1793 were as follows:

1. Thomas and Margaret Chapman, who had come from Wrightstown Monthly Meeting in Pennsylvania to Cane Creek in 1766.
2. Miles Chapman (s. of Thomas and Margaret Chapman).
3. Isaac Stout (s. of Samuel and Rachel Clancey Stout) married out of unity in 1792. His wife's first name was Susannah.
4. William Williams (s. of William and Margaret) m. Rachel Kemp (d. of Richard and Susanna Kemp) at Cane Creek 3/16/1786. Names of children in these families may be found in Hinshaw, *op. cit.*

Garden in 1783, for he was elected clerk of the lower house, First Franklin Assembly in 1785 and was a member of the commission to the North Carolina assembly in 1786. He was also the first register of Knox County, qualifying June 16, 1792.[14] In 1779 Cane Creek had disciplined him for holding office as a justice of the peace, but he seems not to have been affected by that discipline. However, because of Friends testimony against office holding, Thomas Chapman lost importance as a Friend as he gained prominence in governmental affairs of Tennessee.

Early settlers from Center[15] belonged to two families, the Woodwards and the Mills. In the group Abraham Woodward was the most prominent figure. He was named as representative to Western Quarterly Meeting four times between 11/9/1782 and 11/13/1786 but was not named again after that date.

The other two of the monthly meetings having members at Lost Creek by 1787 were Deep River and Springfield, located so close to one another that they may be considered as a unit.[16] The migration from that neighborhood centered about the Mendenhall and Thornbrugh families but does not seem to have been a concerted move. Evidence from recorded deeds and from items in the

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[14] Clarence Edwin Carter (compiler), *The Territorial Papers of the United States* (Washington, 1934—), IV, 449; J. G. M. Ramsey, *Annals of Tennessee* (Philadelphia, 1853), 293.

[15] Members from Center who presented certificates at Lost Creek in 1792-93 were:
1. William Frazier (s. of John and Abigail of Randolph County) m. Susanna Woodward (d. of Abraham and Hannah Thornbrugh Woodward) at Center 1/29/1782.
2. Elihu Swan (s. of Nathaniel and Bethia) m. Sarah Mills (d. of John and Sarah) at Center, 21/2/1782.
3. Abraham Woodward m. Hannah Thornbrugh in Pennsylvania.
4. Samuel Mills (s. of John and Sarah Millkin Mills) m. Mary Ballinger (d. of Moses and Hannah) in Tennessee in 1796.

[16] Certificates were issued by Deep River were for the following:
1. Joel Elmore (s. of Thomas and Ann) m. Rebecca Mendenhall (d. of Mordecai and Hannah) at Westfield, 12/20/1794.
2. Mordecai Mendenhall (s. of Mordecai and Charity Beeson Mendenhall) m. 11/5/1771 Hannah Marshill (d. of William and Rebecca Dixson Marshill), at Cane Creek.
3. Aaron Mills (s. of Henry and Hannah) m. 1/18/1774 Charity Mendenhall (d. of Mordecai and Charity Beeson Mendenhall) at New Garden.
4. Richard Mills married out of unity and was disowned 5/30/1767, restored to membership 4/28/1770. His wife's name was Hannah.
5. Joseph Thornbrugh (s. of Thomas and Abigail Brown Thornbrugh) m. 2/5/1778 Rebeckah Mills Morgan (d. of Thomas Mills and widow of William Morgan).
6. William Thornbrugh (s. of Joseph and 1st wife Elizabeth Ferrington) m. at Westfield to Rachel Beals in 1789.
7. Isaac Williams (s. of William and Margaret of Orange County) m. 1/24/1767 at Cane Creek to Rachel Pike (d. of John and Abigail).

Springfield Meeting issued certificates for:
1. Henry Thornbrugh (s. of Walter) m. 12/7/1758 at New Garden Rachel Moon (d. of Simon).
2. Walter Thornbrugh (s. of Henry and Rachel Moon Thornbrugh). Names of children in these families may be found in Hinshaw, *op. cit.*

meeting records point toward a scattered migration — a few persons at a time moving in the general direction of the Holston Valley. By 1792-3 seven families had reached that neighborhood, and the meeting granted certificates not in a block but as individuals wrote for them.[17]

When Western Quarterly Meeting convened on 11/12/1787, New Garden Monthly Meeting laid before it the request received from Friends at Lost Creek to be allowed the privilege of holding meetings among themselves. The minutes for that date record the following decision:

This meting solidly weighing the matter And being deeply Concerned for the reputation of Truth and considering their Situation to be very remote from Any Monthly Meeting thinks it proper to appoint the Following friends as a committee To wit John Carter, John Talbott, Hezekiah Sanders, Jeremiah Reynolds, Obadiah Harris and Strangeman Stanley[18] to visit them and Inspect into Every circumstance that they may think worthy of the care of friends in respect to their request being granted and report their care to next meeting.

Their report, presented 11/10/1788, was that "after having a solid opportunity And Conference with them Conclude it best That their request be not granted at this Time." The discussion which followed the formal report gives this reason for the refusal:

And this meeting being informed that truths testimony Doth and is Likely to Suffer on account of the above mentioned friends conduct by reason of their setling on Land yet in contest Therefore Recommends to Each Monthly Meeting from whence these Members have removed to advise such friends to move of [off] said Land Within the compass of Peacable possession.

North Carolina Quakers as well as those in Pennsylvania were concerned that Indians be paid for their lands,[19] and these lands yet

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[17] As for the deeds, Mordecai Mendenhall of the County of Stokes sold a tract on Bush River which had been granted to his father Mordecai Mendenhall by the Earl of Granville; the deed is dated 12th day of 9th month, 1791. A second deed to another tract near the first is dated February 18, 1799, and gives Mordecai Mendenhall's residence as Jefferson County, State of Tennessee. Henry Thornbrugh of the County of Guilford deeded land for Springfield Meeting House to Moses Mendenhall, Matthew Coffin, John Ruddock, and William Tomlinson on the 21st day of the 6th month, 1786; and on February 13, 1796, Henry Thornbrugh of Jefferson County, Western Territory, deeded a tract adjoining Springfield Meeting to Isiah McDannel. Joseph Thornbrugh of Surry County deeded land on Bush Creek—a tract granted by Earl of Granville to Thomas Thornbrugh and by him conveyed to his son—the deed being dated 6th of 10th month, 1787. Thus it becomes clear that the Mendenhalls and Thornbrughs had removed to Stokes County before going on to Tennessee.

There are no deeds recorded in Guilford County for members of the Mills families of the Deep River neighborhood, but Richard Mills is said to have removed to the western waters when he requested a certificate on 2/6/1792. Aaron Mills did not go until he had asked the advice of Deep River Monthly Meeting on 2/6/1792 and received an answer "leaving him to his freedom." Yet Deep River must have been one of those meetings with members living on the Holston River in 1786, for the meeting took action on the matter.

[18] All of the members of this committee had been sent on one or more such missions to Westfield or to Nolichucky. In the Quaker phrase, these were "weighty Friends"of Western Quarterly Meeting.

[19] In 1764 New Garden Monthly Meeting had been perturbed over possible In-

in contest had belonged to the Cherokees. There were many additional complications, for the state of Tennessee was not formed until 1796 and in the transitions from Watauga Association to Washington County, North Carolina, to State of Franklin, to Territory of the United States South of the River Ohio, and finally to State of Tennessee, it was difficult to get land titles in order. Added to this difficulty, there were a number of disputes over early land purchases and over unsatisfactory Indian treaties. The land truly did not lie "within the compass of Peaceable possession."[20]

When the above minute was read at Deep River on 3/2/1789, that meeting added thereto:

With which this Meeting Concurs & advises said Friends to Solidly Consider the above Result, and whether it wont be most safe for them to conduct Agreeable thereto; and Direct the Clark to transmit a Copy of this minute and the above Extract to them.

There is no list of names and addresses inserted for the clerk's use and the historian's benefit.

Late in 1787 Western Quarterly Meeting was divided, and New Garden Quarter was set off, with New Garden, Deep River, Springfield, and Westfield as its monthly meetings. The new quarterly meeting took up the burden of Friends on the Holston River and on 9/13/1790 appointed a committee to visit them. The following report came in to the next quarterly meeting on 12/13/-1790:

The Committe appointed to visit a number of frds. Setled on the waters of Holtson River Report as follows—We of the Committee appointed to unite in Conjunction with a Committee of the Western Quarter in a visit to a number of frds. Setled on the waters of Holtson River members of divers mo. meetings in these Quarters have attended on that Service & had an opertunity in Conferance with them, wherein we found them to be under a difficult Circumstance being possessors of Lands for which the native

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dian cliams against its own holdings and had appointed a committee to investigate. Since the committee could learn of only a slight remnant of the original occupants, called the Cheraws, then living with another tribe, and as the claim was uncertain, the matter was dropped. Hopewell Meeting, located in Frederick County, Virginia, refused in 1765 to grant certificates of removal to members until they had ascertained whether or not the land on which they planned to settle had been purchased. See Rayner W. Kelsey, *Friends and the Indians 1655-1917* (Philadelphia, 1917), 51-52. This action would help to set precedent for New Garden Meeting's attitude toward these settlers in the Tennessee territory because several of its members had been members of the Hopewell Meeting when the matter was discussed there.

Between 1765 and 1786 ten certificates of removal issued by the Hopewell Meeting were received at New Garden, several for whole families. *Hopewell Friends History 1734-1934* (Strasburg, Virginia, 1936), 406-425.

[20] The lands in question were claimed by the whites under treaties negotiated under very questionable circumstances by the State of Franklin with the Cherokee Indians in 1785 and 1786. The collapse of that state had further marred their validity. R. C. Downes, "Cherokee-American Relations in the Upper Tennessee Valley, 1776-1791," East Tennesse Historical Society's *Publications*, No. 8 (1936), 35-53.

owners have never Recieved Satisfaction neither are they under the particular notice of any monthly meeting not withstanding which they hold meetings among themselves & Should that Continue to be the Case we think it Highly necessary that each monthly meeting be stirred up to take due Care of their own members that Truth's Testimony be no farther bawked thereby all which we Submit to the meeting—Silas Williams James Thornbrugh Strangeman Stanley

which judgment this meeting concurs with and Recomends the Same to the care of the Monthly Meetings and the Clerk is directed to furnish them with Copies of this minute—

In this report both issues appear: Friends at Lost Creek had settled on lands for which the native owners had not been paid, and they were holding meetings without authority and supervision. The visit and the advice from Western Quarter had produced no result, no removal to safer lands.

Quite promptly (1/29/1791) New Garden Monthly Meeting renewed the effort. The quarterly meeting had thought it "highly necessary that each monthly meeting be stirred up to take due care"; therefore the monthly meeting named a committee "to have the Care of our members Living at Holtson River in order that Truths Testamoney be preserved from further Suffering through them." Their care this time consisted of writing, and with the miles between them, that it understandable. On 8/27/1791 the committee reported the result of the correspondence. They had received a letter from Friends at Lost Creek "by which we are informed that the land whereon they reside is purchased of the Native owners and that they request their wright of membership to be removed to Westfield Monthly Meeting."

After the Treaty of Holston, negotiated by Supt. William Blount with the Cherokees, had been signed on July 2, 1791, the lands could no longer be called contested for they belonged to the United States; payment had been rendered.[21] The opening clause of the treaty would ensure peaceable possession:

The parties being desirous of establishing peace and friendship between the United States and the said Cherokee Nation, and the citizens, and members thereof, and to remove the causes of war, by ascertaining their Limits, and making other necessary, just and friendly arrangements: . . . .

New Garden Monthly Meeting had failed to bring its members home, but the President of the United States had removed the issue, and the question was settled.

Friends at Lost Creek had somewhat changed their request, as they now asked for a transfer of membership rather than the privilege of holding their own meetings; but that change did not make any real difference, for no meeting would grant certificates of removal under doubtful circumstances any more than it would

[21] See article 4 of the Treaty of Holston, Carter, *op. cit.*, IV, 61-63.

allow members the right of holding meetings when the "Honour of Truth might suffer." Certificates of removal were recommendations and carried assurance of good character.

On 10/29/1791 the clerk transcribed this minute as certificates were granted to the eight families:

The friends continued and appointed last meeting to prepare Certificates for our members living on the water of Holson river (to wit) one for John Mills with his wife Sarah & six Children Named William, John, Zachariah, Alice, Lydia, and Rachel one for William Beals with his wife Rachel and five Children Named Wm, Jacob, Caleb, Parnel, and Ashar, one for William Sumner with his wife Elenor, one for William Hinshaw with his wife Margeret and three Children named Uriah, Hannah & Sarah, one for Jesse Baldwin with his wife Hannah and five Children Named Enos, Henry, Wm, Uriah, & Walter, one for Jeremiah Horn with his wife Judith and four Children named John, Mary, Prudence, & Elizabeth one for Moses Ballenger with his wife Hannah and six Children Named Martha, Thomas, Wm, Moses, Charity, & Henry and one for Richard Hayworth with his wife Ann and ten Children Named Wm, James, Mary, Sarah, John, Charity, Richard, Joel, Jonathan, & David, produced them which were all approved of & signed.

Although this five year contest was settled, Western Quarter wanted the issue clarified and therefore laid before the yearly meeting in session 11/1/1791 "a matter respecting Friends who have or may hereafter settle on Indian Lands unpurchased to know what Steps are to be taken with such."

This was the advice of the yearly meeting:

The said Committe also propose that the following Minute be adopted by this Meeting; which after being read & considered, is approved of, to wit, "Taking under consideration the matter of Friends settling on Indian's Land Unpurchased, direct that no Friend settle on such Land. Also Taking into Solid consideration the Case of Friends removing to the back Settlements; and the difficulty & danger some have been reduced to, & trouble they have brought on Friends thereby, for preventing of which, this Meeting do give it as our Sense of Judgment that no Friend do remove & settle out of the Limits of a Monthly Meeting, without first applying to, & having consent of the Monthly & Quarterly Meeting to which they belong; which bounds the Quarter is to be judge of; and that Friends be careful to attend to the former advice in our Discipline respecting other Removals."[22]

The rest of the story of Lost Creek's beginnings is soon told. In 1792 Friends of Lost Creek asked New Garden to allow them the privilege of holding meetings for worship, and the monthly meeting referred the request to the quarterly meeting, it being "too weighty (under the present circumstances of said Friends) for them

[22] Stephen B. Weeks, *op. cit.*, sees this minute as an effort to curb migration. It seems to me that the minutes in question give a definite answer directed at one group of settlers and that the policy implied by the last clauses is incidental. Considering the rate at which all of the meetings continued to issue certificates, it had no real effect. When there is great discrepancy between stated theory and practice, it usually means that the small group which framed the advice is out of touch with the sense of the meeting.

to determine." On 3/11/1793 representatives from New Garden Quarterly Meeting reported that they had assisted Westfield Monthly Meeting "in visitting Friends of Lost Creek, and after a time of conference with them on the subject, think it best to grant their request."

The meeting at Lost Creek grew steadily; a preparative meeting was set up in 1795 under the care of Newhope, the Nolichucky of earlier days. On 5/25/1796 John Mills deeded it a three-acre tract which was used as a site for a meeting house, a school house, and a grave yard; and on 5/20/1797 the monthly meeting was set up with Abraham Woodward and Sarah Mills as clerks. At that first session "Friends inhabiting about Thomas Marshall's in Grassy Valley (across the Holston in Knox County) requested the privilege of holding a First Day Meeting." Lost Creek set up three other subordinate meetings in addition to Grassy Valley—Newberry (at the site of the present Friendsville in Blount County), Panther Creek, and South of the French Broad River — and seemed in a flourishing condition.[23]

In 1802 migration to the North began, and the life which had flowed into the valley of the Holston from North Carolina went out in the tide of emigration to Ohio and Indiana. In Tennessee many Quaker families paused a decade or a generation and took their rest, then went on again. They were pioneers.

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[23] Hinshaw, *op cit.*, I, 1102.

ANDREW JACKSON: FRONTIER DEMOCRAT

By Arda S. Walker

Among his series of essays, *Conflicts With Oblivion,* W. C. Abbott has one on Oliver Cromwell, in which he traces the peaks and valleys of Cromwell's popularity as viewed by historians and writers of the various generations since his execution. "Of all the characters in English history," he says, "there is not one who is more vividly remembered whether for good or ill than Oliver Cromwell." In the evolution of Cromwell's fame, Abbott saw bound up "a political transformation at once far-reaching and profound."[1] He saw Cromwell praised by writers who lived during periods of liberal reforms and berated by writers living during eras when political philosophy opposed to his own was dominant in the state. Perhaps, no man in American history is more vividly remembered or has been the subject of so wide a variety of conflicting thoughts as America's sixth president, Andrew Jackson. These conflicts, too, are intimately bound up in the political predilections and social philosophies of his biographers.

Coming on the political stage at a time when great numbers of people had recently moved west of the Piedmont and mountain regions and had established a new frontier society, Jackson was put into office by the common people of both east and west as their warrior and "farmer hero."[2] The newly awakened masses of people put Jackson into office to espouse their cause — to end the class domination and usher in a rule of the people. Few will deny that his presidential activities justified the confidence of the people or that Thomas Jefferson was correct a few years before when he reputedly observed that he "had no doubt that if General Jackson should be brought into office to correct the alarming tendency towards formidable and otherwise irremediable evils beginning to develop themselves in the administration of the general government he [Jackson] would be entirely faithful to that cause."[3] Yet there have arisen sporadically those who challenge Jackson's sincerity as a "democrat," especially in his Tennessee politics. Some feel his

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[1] W. C. Abbott, *Conflicts with Oblivion* (New Haven, 1924), 164.

[2] J. S. Bassett (editor), *Correspondence of Andrew Jackson* (Washington, 1828-1935), III, 457. Hereafter cited as *Correspondence.*

[3] Knoxville *Register,* April 16, 1828. As reported by John Randolph of Roanoke, Jefferson's son-in-law.

leanings and activities, particularly in early life, were toward the aristocratic members of society. William McDonald felt that there "was something hollow even about Jackson's thinking of the people as a sovereign body," for, said McDonald, "he made very little effort to learn public opinion before he took action upon a particular issue."[4] The most recent exponents of this line of thought and perhaps the most vigorous is Thomas P. Abernethy, who feels that before Jackson became president he contributed not one idea to democracy.[5] William E. Dodd, who was not unfavorable to Jackson and his standing as a great democrat, felt that Jackson believed in what the westerners said they believed in because he was a westerner and not because "he had ever thought through the problem of social cystallization and control." He did not believe in democracy, said Dodd, "He was democracy."[6] Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., in his recent best seller, *Age of Jackson,* has gone far in showing the democracy of Jackson. Between these two poles of thinking lies Jackson's conflict with oblivion. Was he an aristocrat, using democratic "cosmetics" to win popular approval, or was he the core from which democracy in the modern sense was fashioned?[7] In this paper, special emphasis will be placed on Jackson in his relation to Tennessee political thought.

The fact that human nature is paradoxical prevents the drawing of a hard and fast line in the political portrait of many an individual. So it was with Jackson. However, a study of his personality, his attitude toward individuals, and his attitude toward the masses, as well as his stand on such issues as the bank, currency and credit systems, internal improvements and some phases of federal and state land policies will go far in determining which of the two conflicting

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[4] William McDonald as quoted in *Annual Report,* American Historical Association for the year 1829 (Washington, 1930), 40.

[5] T. P. Abernethy, "Andrew Jackson and the Rise of Southwestern Democracy," *American Historical Review,* XXXIII (October, 1927), 76.

[6] W. E. Dodd, "Andrew Jackson and His Enemies," *Century,* CXI (April, 1926), 734-45.

[7] T. P. Abernethy apparently feels that Jackson, rather than being a democratic leader, was an opportunist. He feels that he was not a democratic leader in Tennessee politics, that he leaned toward the landed aristocracy and merely "encouraged" the people "to champion his cause." See Abernethy, *loc. cit.,* XXXIII, 76, *et passim;* and Abernethy's book,*From Frontier to Plantation in Tennessee* (Chapel Hill, 1932). A. M. Schlesinger, Jr., in his recent best seller, has taken issue with T. P. Abernethy in his thesis that Jackson never "really championed the cause of the people." Schlesinger's attack is based upon the fact that Abernethy has dealt with Jackson in Tennessee politics only. Schlesinger alleges, "no amount of inference based on what Jackson was like before 1828 can substitute for the facts after 1828." However, inasmuch as the "child is father of the man" and inasmuch as Jackson served more of his political life in Tennessee politics as district attorney, two turns at the senatorship, superior court judge of Tennessee, and a member of Tennessee's constitution-making assmbly — a career which would have been complete within itself for most political leaders — to dismiss Abernethy's thesis so summarily is unjust and insufficient, indicating a lack of understanding of Jackson's pre-presidential career. See A. M. Schlesinger, Jr., *The Age of Jackson* (Boston, 1945), 64.

ideas — democracy or aristocracy — predominated in his thinking and in his actions.

Jackson's father was of the yeoman class and of Scotch-Irish descent. He crossed the Atlantic and settled near the mountains on the line between the Carolinas about the time of the American Revolution. By virtue of their acquisition of property, this upland group of settlers set up a new form of aristocracy dependent upon property in land and rivalling or paralleling in some ways that of their English ancestors. This planter aristocracy, as it has come to be known, was essentially of a democratic mold because "anyone who had sufficient cotton and slaves," which it was assumed anyone might acquire by a moderate amount of ability and initiative, "could be received into the homes and admitted to the social life of the planters."[8] There was certainly nothing hereditary about the system. Young Andrew Jackson by virtue of his natural superiority, though almost penniless when he came to Tennessee, became a part of this system, even from the beginning when he had neither land nor slaves. Later in life, he owned at one time as many as 300 slaves and large tracts of land.[9] A member of the aristocracy may not always be wealthy nor must he always be an aristocratic thinker. Many democratic leaders have come from wealthy, well born, and well educated families; conversely many of the most implacable snobs have come from poverty-stricken families. Especially was this true in the early part of the nineteenth century when democracy as known today was merely a mist in the minds of a few far-seeing thinkers, when a majority of the states required property qualifications for voting ranging to as much as 60 pounds sterling or 250 acres of land, and when direct elections were provided by only a few of the states.[10]

Shortly after Jackson's arrival in Tennessee, a general contest arose between the eastern and northern industrial forces and the upland inhabitants of the southern frontiers. In all probability, the contest was not too clearly realized in the minds of contemporaries. For good and sufficient reason, it was Jackson who stepped forth to champion the cause of the upland democracy, to denounce money power, the credit system and the increasing influence of wealth in government. The frontiersmen turned their support to him with the result that in 1828 they were able in the eleven frontier states to pile up a popular majority of 110,833 votes for Jackson over his aristocratic opponent, compared with a mere 5818 votes majority in

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[8] W. B. Hesseltine, *A History of the South*, 1607-1936 (New York, 1836), 323.
[9] Only one man in Tennessee as late as 1850 owned this many slaves. *A Compendium of the Seventh Census of the United States* (Washington, 1854), 95.
[10] B. P. Poore, *Federal and State Constitutions* (Washington, 1878), *passim.*

the East. Not a single western state rendered a popular vote adverse to Jackson while eight eastern states voted against him, only Virginia, Pennsylvania and New York giving him the most of their popular support.[11] Thus, born into a poor farming family, elevated by his own initiative and hard work to the landed aristocracy, he became the leader of the poor and small landholding settlers on the frontier.

Jackson's personal traits have become so heavily veiled in a maze of anecdotes and epithets which make for interesting reading that it is difficult to know Jackson "the man." In appearance, Jackson, who suffered poor health, possessed an unusual stature, angular, thin, and tall, with keen and piercing eyes, lighting up an ample forehead fringed by an unruly cowlick. With an expression of discernment or perhaps suspicion on his face, he always dressed with dignity or in military uniform, but never in the latest style. He was friendly in a reserved fashion, and was certainly no "dandy," nor was he the type to wear out the rug before the mirror. Albert Gallatin described him as he entered the halls of Congress as a "tall, lank, uncouth-looking personage, with long locks of hair hanging over his face and a cue down his back tied in an eel-skin."[12] Fanny Kemble, however, overlooked his awkward physical appearance and saw only his manners, "perfectly simple and quiet, and therefore very good."[13] A Scotch traveller thought him "not ungenteel in manner and appearance." Nicholas P. Trist thought him "of the highest available stamp as regards both dignity and grace."[14] Nathaniel Hawthorne, who saw him only once, was so thoroughly impressed by his bearing that he expressed a desire that Raphael, who had painted a portrait of Pope Julius II, might have used Jackson as a study.[15] The crudeness or gentility of Jackson's appearance as described by Jackson's contemporaries seemed to depend upon the political predilections of his observers. Remarks of disinterested foreign travellers would appear to be the best index concerning the appearance and behavior of the real Jackson.

Jackson's early quarrels and duels are so much more interesting to the unthinking reader that they invariably take precedence over Jackson's far more prevalent social amenities. Even after he was

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[11] F. J. Turner, *The Frontier in American History* (New York, 1921), 252-5. For the popular votes of this election see S. J. Folmsbee (compiler), "Electoral and Popular Votes in the Presidential Elections, 1789-1924," in J. F. Frufer, *American Political Parties and Presidential Elections* (Philadelphia, 1928).

[12] Turner, *op. cit.*, 253.

[13] Fanny Kemble as quoted in James Parton, *Life of Andrew Jackson* (New York, 1861, 3 vols), II, 599; F. A. Ogg, *The Reign of Andrew Jackson* (New Haven, 1921), 217.

[14] Mr. Stuart and N. P. Trist as quoted in Parton, *op. cit.*, III, 600, 603.

[15] Schlesinger, *op. cit.*, 42.

elected to the presidency, so assiduously had his enemies urged upon the public his lack of manners that considerable apprehension was experienced on the part of some few snobbish members of the Jacksonian party as to the impression which the social bearing and manners of their leader might make upon foreigners. Robert Livingston, who knew the General only slightly, feared that his manners might lead to degradation and contempt in the eyes of foreigners,"[16] but the outcome proved that any apprehension was but the borrowing of trouble and that even some Jackson party men themselves had succumbed to the false charges being bandied about by their leader's opponents. Jackson's receptions were not inferior, "either in cost or brilliancy of his entertainments or in the grace with which his guests were received as well by himself as by the female members of his family." Even the aristocratic Mrs. Livingston described him as the "most elegant and graceful man" that her lady friends had ever seen,[17] and what later became the opposition press described him as being quite at home "in the field, at the table, or in the ballroom."[18] Though often a party to a quarrel, Jackson was opposed to brawls and disorderly crowds. He felt that it was the character of a man of honor "not to quarrel and brawl like a fish woman."[19]

He opposed stumping the country during elections, feeling that the solicitation of votes was not proper in a man standing for high office. To R. M. Johnson, who resented the accusations made against Jackson in 1828, and who urged that if the latter "visited the various parts of the United States by invitation of otherwise" he could check these false accusations, Jackson replied, "Had you reflected, Dr. Sir, that I am not a candidate for the presidency of my own volition, but by the selection of the people, you would not for a moment entertain the idea that it would be proper for me to adopt the electioneering course pursued by our travelling cabinet . . . . The people having taken me up must determine the canvass themselves without any agency of mine."[20] Jackson strictly adhered to his policy of not making campaign speeches. He highly disapproved the low nature of the campaign of 1840 and was impressed by a barbecue of his own party which "instead of riot and brawling,"

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[16] J. C. Fitzpartrick (editor), *Autobiography of Martin Van Buren* (Washington, 1920), 229.

[17] A. S. Colyar, *The Life and Times of Andrew Jackson* (Nashville, 1904), I, 59.

[18] *Niles' Register*, IX (November 18, 1815), 205.

[19] Jackson to Thomas Hart Benton, July, 1813, *Correspondence*, I, 314. This opposition to brawls did not prevent Jackson from becoming involved in a few in early life. Late in life, Benton, who himself had an altercation with Jackson, said, "Yes, I had a fight with Jackson, a fellow was hardly in fashion then who had'nt had." Ogg, *op. cit.*, 21.

[20] Jackson to R. M. Johnson, September, 1828, *Correspondence*, III, 431. For Johnson's view see L. W. Meyer, *The Life and Times of Colonel Richard M. Johnson of Kentucky* (New York, 1932), 249-51.

had the decorum of a church which was the sign of "reason reassuming its umpire [*sic*] and when this is the case, democracy must and will triumph."[21] he told his well-wishing neighbors.

Jackson's withdrawal from social activities, particularly the gathering at the presidential mansion on his first inauguration, has sometimes brought against him charges of aristocratic tendencies.[22] There are two reasons for his apparent aloofness upon these occasions: his poor health, and a distaste for feigned and superficial manners of the so-called upper strata of society made up of politicians and individuals in public life. Furthermore, on this occasion, no joyous celebration could touch him, because of his recent bereavement by the death of Mrs. Jackson. Nothing had ever hurt him more. For a number years, Jackson, then 62 years of age, had been a victim of poor health. He was unable to cope with strenuous social activities. While President, he frequently sought rest at the Rip Raps, the "little White House" of the day. Even here, he found that company followed him as it did everywhere.[23]

Jackson avoided parties and social gatherings in Washington, not because he was unsociable, but because as a man in office he was "greeted with smiles and apparent friendship, his confidence often sought to be betrayed." He felt that "where a man must be always guarded [in speech and action] happiness cannot exist."[24] This lesson he had learned the hard way, for one of the finest parties of his career had been given for him in 1825 by President and Mrs. John Q. Adams, who later stopped at nothing to destroy the reputation of their one-time honor guest. While a senator he described the hollow "visiting and carding" each other which was on the increase as he became more popular, and he resolved to assume only those social obligation required of him because of his position.[25] These obligations sometimes became quite numerous. John Eaton wrote Mrs. Jackson, explaining that the General may not have been as punctual a correspondent as he should have been because he is "constantly in motion at some dinner party or other and tonight stands engaged at a large Dancing party at Genl. Browns: [Wash-

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[21] Jackson to Francis P. Blair, September 28, 1840, *Correspondence*, VI, 78.

[22] J. S. Bassett, *Life of Andrew Jackson* (New York, 1911), II, 421-3.

[23] Jackson to James K. Polk, August 3, 1835, *Correspondence*, V, 359. After the first inauguration, when the crowds had assumed full possession of the presidential mansion, the deed to which they had acquired on the first Tuesday after the first Monday of the previous November, Jackson was glad to escape by a side entrance and go to his lodging place at Gadsby's Hotel. Bassett, *Life of Andrew Jackson*, 421-3. This dislike for and inability to enjoy or cope with a disorderly crowd does not necessarily place Jackson in the seat of the aristocrat for no one in America would claim that "riot," however good-natured, and "disorder," even in celebrating triumph, are synonomous with "democracy."

[24] Jackson to Brigadier General John Coffee, December 27, 1824, *Correspondence*, III, 270.

[25] Jackson to Mrs. Jackson, December 7, 1823, *ibid.*, III, 216.

ington's Statler Hotel of Jackson's day] but whether or not he will become one of the Dancers shall become the subject of some future letter." To this Jackson had appended, "The enclosed information is all true, but highly coloured as it respects the dining and the vissits —too much of that is true, and as yet I cannot free myself from them."[26] Shortly after this writing he withdrew himself entirely from night life for a period, except for the New Orleans anniversary ball of the Adams', attended by a thousand people.[27] According to Adams' carefully-kept diary, Jackson arrived at 8 o'clock and remained only until "after supper," although the dancing continued until one.[28] He attended a few other social events before the end of his stay in Washington, finding that "there was nothing but shew, nothing of pure principles of friendship in these crowds."[29] Long before the inaugural reception, Jackson was in voluntary retirement from social activities as a protest to the hollow show and pomposity and also because of restrictions placed upon him by poor health.

Some character traits of Jackson savored of the independent democracy prevalent on the southwestern frontier. Henry Dearborn once urged him to discover and expose the suspected duplicity of Aaron Burr. Jackson indicated his willingness to do all in his power to counteract "un-American" activities, but he refused to become a party to a plot whereby he would spy on Aaron Burr or any other men during which time he would be playing the part of a "smiling assassin" as Dearborn desired. He said he was willing to help, "but not in the yankee stile of base duplicity, by smiling in the face of an enemy and plunging a dagger in his [heart]." Jackson held it "sacred to the reputation of every man that he never ought to be censured without proof." He admitted that he had lent Burr two boats, "But, sir," he exclaimed, "when proof shews him to be a treator [*sic*], I would cut his throat, with as much pleasure as I would cut yours [Dearborn's] on equal testimony."[30] These were potent words when Jackson's lack of esteem for Dearborn is taken into consideration.

Other traits of Jackson, somewhat comical in the light of modern-day thinking, were certainly not of an aristocratic nature. A mania for obtaining locks of Jackson's hair swept the country, which, to say the least, would have annoyed a man of more reserved

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[26] John Eaton to Mrs. Jackson, December 18, 1823, *ibid.*, III, 217. Jackson did dance, as did Mrs. Jackson, and he was only "less proud of his accomplishments as a dancer than as a fighter." Ogg, *op. cit.*, 50.

[27] Jackson to Mrs. Jackson, December 28, 1823, *Correspondence*, III, 219-20.

[28] Allan Nevins (editor), *The Diary of John Quincy Adams 1794-1845* (New York, 1929), 313-4.

[29] Jackson to John Coffee, January 23, 1825, *Correspondence*, III, 274.

[30] Jackson in letters to Henry Dearborn, March, 1807, January 4, 1807, March 17, 1807, *Correspondence*, I, 175-6, 160, 178.

nature. He had to preserve barber clippings for those who requested them, furnishing in some instances second samples.[31] Jackson, himself, frequently endorsed these "orders" for hair, of which samples growing along the scar left by the saber cut of a British soldier were the most valuable. He wrote such remarks as this, "to be sent by Mr. Barry." Democracy had made him her hero and he suffered the fate of a hero, a fate to which one would hardly visualize his democratic predecessor, Thomas Jefferson, permitting himself to succumb. Another plague of the day was albums, and Jackson, in the words of Harriet Martineau, was "terribly persecuted" by them, as "he had no poetical resource but Watts hymns." Yet he was not outdone, and as a consequence, in his very conspicuous handwriting standing in the midst of "crowquill compliments and translucent charades which are the staples of albums," were stanzas of the most "ominous purport" from Watt's Hymnal.[32] Again, a distortion of the imagination would be necessary to describe such willingness to please the populace as characteristic of an aristocrat.

Numerous charges have been made that Jackson was unduly influenced by friends. Some have intimated, or even openly asserted, that friends originated his ideas.[33] There are indications that Jackson did not permit himself to be carried away in his judgment by the approval or disapproval of friends high or low. Yet none was more willing to accept a different point of view or more ready to change a previous one when proved incorrect.[34] In 1807 there was an example of his utter contempt for the advice of friends who tried to influence him against his better judgment. Some of his Philadelphia friends objected to his entrusting business to John Jackson, a merchant there, and no relation to himself. He disregarded their objections, their smiles and frowns being "equally indifferent to" them.[35] As president he feared lest any act of his should "afford the slightest color for the insinuation" that he followed "blindly the judgment of any friend in the discharge of" his proper duties as a public or private individual.[36] This observation referred to his kitchen cabinet, who according to some writers, did Jackson's thinking.

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[31] One such sample had to be given to a man because his pocket had been picked while attending James K. Polk's inauguration and the letter containing the lock of Jackson's hair had been taken. Jessee Elliott to Jackson, March 13, 1845, *ibid.*, VI, 318. Even Francis P. Blair required a second sample because his daughter would not part with her sample of the General's hair. Frances P. Blair to Jackson, January 9, 1844, *ibid.*, VI, 255; Mrs. E. G. Edrington to Jackson, March 11, 1833, *ibid.*, V. 27.

[32] Allan Nevins (editor), *American Social History as Recorded By British Travellers* (New York, 1923), 193.

[33] Abernethy, "Andrew Jackson and . . . Democracy," *loc. cit.*, XXXIII, 76.

[34] Schlesinger, *op. cit.*, 39, 40.

[35] Jackson to John Jackson, June 18, 1805, *Correspondence*, I, 116.

[36] Jackson to John Randolph, November 11, 1831, as quoted in Bassett, *Life of Andrew Jackson*, II, 457.

This same characteristic was present in Jackson's thinking with regard to the will of the people.

Numerous Jacksonian statements with regard to the will of the people and his trust in the masses have occasioned doubt in the minds of some historians as to what extent genuine democracy was innate in Jackson's thinking. He made such statements as these: "The world is not to be trusted"; "I have confidence in few but apparent confidence in many"; "Deal with all as though they were dishonest and you can never be deceived"; "I am almost disgusted with mankind." He was concerned because amiable Lewis Cass thought all men honest, which, according to Jackson, was "a virtue in private but unsafe in public life."[37] On the surface, these were indictments against his democracy, but behind them lay a reason—not undemocratic, but practical. Being fully as much a self-made man as the "Great Emancipator," Jackson had been taught by hard and costly experience that faith in individuals does not always pay monetary dividends. Upon one occasion, he was forced almost into bankruptcy to pay off a note which he had endorsed for a friend, John Allison, whom he had trusted. Later in political life, he was impressed by the untrustworthiness of friends whom he had accepted as real and not political fair-weather friends. Naturally, such experiences had left their imprint upon his mental attitude toward the trustworthiness of individuals. While he sympathized with the comman man, individually and as a class, sponsored his cause, and sympathized with individual needs and wants of common people, he was somewhat reluctant to accept anyone into full faith and confidence. But he was always willing to give a man the chance to prove that his motives for friendship were honorable. This distrust of friends until they had proved themselves and of foes to the bitter end should not be taken as an index of the humanitarian feelings of the General but should rather be regarded as a defense mechanism developed through many bitter experiences. Thus, early in life, he had resolved to act on his own judgment and he would not knowingly permit himself to be led blindly by the will of the people, should that will be against his better judgment.[38] This was as it should have been. Democracy's great leaders have always been independent thinkers — not merely followers.

On the other hand, there were some occasions on which Jackson permitted himself to be led by others. Certain friends, not

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[37] Jackson to W. C. C. Claiborne, January, 1807, *Correspondence*, I, 165; Jackson to A. J. Hutchings, April 18, 1832, *ibid.*, V, 59; Jackson to A. J. Donelson, April 11, 1834, *ibid.*, III, 247; Jackson to Van Buren, December 17, 1831, *ibid.*, IV, 385; Knoxville *Register*, April 1, 1825.

[38] Jackson to Andrew Jackson Jr., November 16, 1833, *Correspondence*, V, 226, *et passim.*

especially close to the "throne," saw this as his weakness. Col. John Williams, a lukewarm supporter, described him as having an "extraordinary knowledge of human character," but bemoaned the fact that he could be "approached thro' credulity and induced to make war on his best friends."[39] He likewise stood staunchly by friends both near and distant, when he considered his judgment about them to be correct. He firmly pointed to an established presidential prerogative when refusing to dismiss John Eaton. "I was not making a cabinet for Genl. Desha, Isaac, Mitchell, and Miller, I was making a cabinet for myself . . . ."[40] Every indication is that Jackson was a self-willed man, who formulated his own opinions, and while not a dogmatist, if proved in error to his own satisfaction, followed his course unless firmly convinced that it needed alteration. Needless to say, many people found it difficult to secure the particular alteration in his judgment which they wanted.

With reference to the people, Jackson made statements, as he did concerning his friends, which taken alone seem undemocratic. Such statements as "I have little faith in the stability of Republics"; or "the moment a man yields his judgt. to popular whim, he may be compared to a ship without a rudder in a gale" are held by some as circumstantial evidence against the democracy of any leader and particularly against Jackson's democracy. With Jackson, however, these statements were merely expressions of his fear for the welfare of the masses through their being misled. He felt that the "bone and sinew" of our government, as he designated the working people, were easily led and consequently their every whim should not be accepted rashly. This was a conservative and rational way to look at the question. Even as in more recent politics, pressure groups were demanding legislation definitely opposed to the interests of the people. These groups, then as now, could by misinformation easily manipulate and sway the populace. From an early date, Jackson felt that to *maintain* popularity on the "basis of your own merit," a man should always be guided by his own judgment.[41] In 1819, he somewhat poetically stated it thus: "When the public voice, being misled disapproves the course, innocence smiles with contempt at the public clamor — time, dispels the mist of error from their own eyes."[42] In the meantime, he might have added, it is the responsibility of real leadership to steer a steady course. In 1824 he commented, "The mass of people are always ripe, ripe for novelty and innovation . . . I have little faith in the stability of Republics,

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[39] Col. John Williams to Van Buren, March 22, 1831, as quoted in *ibid.*, IV, 230.
[40] Jackson to McLemore, April, 1829, *Correspondence*, IV, 230.
[41] Jackson to G. W. Campbell, April 28, 1824, *ibid.*, I, 91.
[42] Jackson to A. J. Donelson, November 21, 1819, *ibid.*, II, 441.

they fall an easy prey to the passions of ambitious rivals for power."[43] How many times has subsequent history proved the truth of this statement!

It was against these ambitious rivals for power, the pressure groups, that Jackson raised his most bitter criticism. He was deeply concerned lest the ability of the masses to discern what was to their advantage be incorrect at the time the choice had to be made. An enlightening example and an attempt to mislead both the people and their President came at the time of the proposed veto of the bank charter bill. This threatened veto produced what was possibly the first great lobby in our history. Jackson was bombarded by barrages of letters, often inspired by the industrialists concerned with their own welfare, and even some democratic leaders pled with him to change his bank policy. The bank, by following a policy of contraction, was ruining both industrialists and democrats financially, thereby proving Jackson was correct in his great concern as to the power of the Bank and its monopolistic control. The old general was as adamant on this one issue as he had ever been in his life. To Francis P. Blair he declared, "Providence may change me, but it is not in the power of man to do it."[44] When a "posse" of white-lipped senators came to his office to inform him that it was reported that a Baltimore mob was marching on Washington to camp on Capitol Hill, until the bank deposits should be restored and to ask him what should be done, Jackson replied, "Gentlemen, I shall be glad to see this mob on Capitol Hill. I will fix their heads on the iron palisades around the square to assist your deliberations. The leaders I will hang as high as Haaman to deter forever all attempts to control the legislation of Congress by intimidation or design."[45]

A further example of Jackson's hostility to government by pressure groups — which in practice is decidedly undemocratic, as proved by recent events — had reference to the adjustment of the Maine boundary dispute. Robert Livingston had just observed that if the boundary dispute were settled as proposed, a clamor would probably be raised. Jackson retorted, "I care nothing about clamors, sir, Mark me! I do precisely what I think just and right."[46] To Van Buren (from whom he is often accused of taking his policies) he wrote, "If you would preserve your reputation, or that of the state over which you preside, you must take a straightforward determined course, regardless of the applause or censure of the populace and of

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[43] As quoted in Parton, *op. cit.*, III, 605.
[44] Frances P. Blair to Van Buren, November 13, 1859, Fitzpatrick, *op. cit.*, 607.
[45] Francis P. Blair to George Bancroft, as quoted in *Correspondence*, V, 238n.
[46] Jackson to Andrew Jackson Jr., November 16, 1833, *ibid.*, V, 226.

the forebodings of that dastardly crew who at a time like this may be expected to clamor continually in your ears."[47] The vice-president was at this time wavering in his stand on the bank question. These unveiled and unvarnished statements can be taken in no other way than to mean exactly what they said: Jackson was a leader, not to be influenced by pressure groups, which characteristic in itself is no reflection on his democratic ideals, but rather proves that he was practicing what Lincoln preached, "government by the people," not by interested groups. Though Jackson feared that the masses would be misled, he avowed his confidence and faith in their ultimate triumph. After his retirement from office, the most tenacious opinion that he as ex-president carried to the Hermitage, and perhaps the most fundamental and most often declared, was his confidence in the "real working classes," "the great bone and sinew of the country," "the people, the labouring people."[48]

On the question of suffrage, Jackson was a liberal for his day. He was a member of the constitutional convention which formulated Tennessee's first constitution, pronounced by Jefferson to be "the least imperfect and most republican of the systems of government adopted by any of the American states."[49] It was one of the first not to require either a religious test or a property qualification for voting. Furthermore, suffrage was extended even to free Negroes. There were features of that constitution, however, which were far from being democratic. One of the most undemocratic features was the provision requiring a two-hundred acre property holding in land as a qualification for membership in the general assembly.[50] This provision seemingly placed a reasonably high premium on holding office, for "long before Tennessee became a state, apparently, land near the more important settlements had become dear." In 1788, eight years before the adoption of the Tennessee constitution, only a small fraction of men twenty-one years or older in the vicinity of Nashville, were listed as landholders.[51] This situation was not because of scarcity or dearness of land, but more than likely indicated a careless regard for property in land or for any property at all. It was perhaps out of Jackson's support of the property qualification for holding office that the charges grew during the 1828 election which

[47] Jackson to Van Buren, May 19, 1833, as quoted in F. J. Klingberg and Andrew Jackson IV, "The Americanism of Andrew Jackson," *South Atlantic Quarterly*, XXI (April, 1922), 131.

[48] Jackson to Van Buren, May 12, 1837, June 6, 1837, *Correspondence*, V, 483, 488; J. F. Jameson (editor), *The Correspondence of John C. Calhoun, Annual Report* of the American Historical Association for the year 1899 (Washington, 1900), I, iii.

[49] J. G. M. Ramsey, *The Annals of Tennessee to the End of the Eighteenth Century* (Charleston, 1853), 657.

[50] Poore, *op. cit.*, II, 1668.

[51] Wallace McClure, *State Constitution-Making with Especial Reference to Tennessee* (Nashville, 1916), 39.

identified him with opposition to universal manhood suffrage. Debates of Tennessee's first constitutional convention were not recorded, but these charges were amply answered by a statement signed by a number of leading men who had attended the convention, among whom were John Overton, G. W. Campbell, Judge John Catron, W. C. C. Claiborne, and others, including a former minister to Russia and a brother of the then minister to France. These men declared, "It is notorious that he [Jackson] advocated the provisions adopted in the constitution of our state which secure the right of suffrage to every freeman."[52] For that day, this was a forward step in democracy, for even Virginia, Jefferson's mother state, had at that time a property qualification for voting.[53]

There is no doubt but that Jackson was a liberal in his thinking as regarded religious tenets in their relation to voting and holding office, as he voted and spoke for two provisions in the first state constitution which were progressive for that day. He felt that one whose religious convictions were against bearing arms should be exempt from military service, and he opposed a clause which if adopted would have denied office to any who did not believe in the divine authority of the Testaments.[54]

When it came to elections, although undoubtedly influenced by his own personal interests, he was willing and insistent that the people nominate and elect their own leaders — he wanted representative government. Consequently, he put himself in opposition to the caucus system, which he termed a scheme of the demagogues "who call themselves Democratic Republicans" to control the people. These caucus advocates, he declared, worked on the principle that this course was necessary, for "If you leave the election to the people, they will elect a certain individual who is obnoxious to us. This my dear sir," Jackson asserted, "is as much to say the people are incapable of self government."[55] Yet, though firmly opposed to the obscure method by which the chief magistrate was chosen, he resigned from the Senate rather than vote on an amendment designed to remedy the method. He was in favor of the amendment, but felt that if he supported it, he would be charged

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[52] Knoxville *Register*, July 2, 1828.

[53] Poore, *op. cit.*, II, 1917.

[54] *Journal of the Proceedings of a Convention began and held at Knoxville, January 11, 1796* (Knoxville, 1796), 18-25. A further proof of his desire for the extension of suffrage is evidenced by his reactions in favor of the Dorr Rebellion, a suffrage movement in Rhode Island. This was perhaps the most revolutionary and most violent attempt to secure suffrage that has ever taken place on Americal soil. Jackson supported the revolutionists at a time when such support was not widespread. He felt that the people would triumph "as they ought," would hoist the "republican banner and democracy" along with them, and their cause would triumph. Jackson to Francis P. Blair, May 23, 1842, *Correspondence*, VI, 153.

[55] Jackson to John Coffee, February 15, 1824, *ibid.*, III, 228.

with furthering his own political ends.[56] He felt that democracy demanded that a representative, once elected, "speak and do the will of the people," [57] and while their representative, upon at least one occasion, he voted in accordance with their wishes even though these wishes did not coincide with his own. The constituents were opposed to a direct tax, which Jackson favored.

A very important way in which Jackson showed his democracy was in his views on office holding. In his appointments to office he demonstrated his feelings that government was not the prerogative of a few well-educated and well-born individuals. Certainly, to assume that the reins of government could be turned over to inexperienced men from the frontier upon what would be called a moment's notice, if not an outright progressive way of thinking, was not an aristocratic way of thinking and acting. When complaints came to Jackson from T. L. Miller and James Ritchie, the editors of the Richmond *Enquirer,* because he had appointed certain editors to office who had supported his cause, he exclaimed,

> Why should this class of citizens be excluded from offices to which others, not more patriotic, nor presenting stronger claims as to qualifications may aspire . . . ? The road to office and preferment, being accessible alike to the rich and the poor, the farmer and the printer, honesty, probity and capability constituting the sole and exclusive test, will I am persuaded, have the happiest tendency to preserve, unimpaired, freedom of political action.[58]

This was not a speech of an aristocrat. In the matter of holding office, moreover, Jackson, at least until he became president, felt that offices should not be confined to members of one party. In 1816 he urged Monroe to select for his cabinet the best men in the country, regardless of party. They must be honest, virtuous, capable and firm men, he declared. "Everything depends on the selection of your ministry." "In every selection, party and party feelings should be avoided. Now," he said, anticipating the "era of good feeling," "is the time to exterminate that monster, called party spirit."[59] Should the reader question Jackson's sincerity by pointing to the so-called spoils system, he should be reminded that the dismissals of men from office by Jackson were occasioned, not mainly by the party affiliation of those men, but largely because of numerous corruptions which had resulted in public offices during the Adams regime.[60] Monroe, however, did not agree with Jackson on the point at issue in 1816. He replied to the latter's letter, stating that he felt the administration should be in the hands of those who

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[56] Knoxville *Enquirer,* October 28, 1825.
[57] Jackson to William Dickinson, September 1, 1801, *Correspondence,* I, 58.
[58] Jackson to T. L. Miller, May 13, 1829, *ibid.,* IV, 32.
[59] Knoxville *Register,* May 28, 1824.
[60] Schlesinger, *op. cit.,* 47.

had won the election, because the people knew the principles of both parties and selected the party whose platform they favored.[61] Jackson during his presidency kept in office some men who were detrimental to his program rather than run the risk of discharging a capable man.[62] "Honesty, probity and capability" were to be the norms and the only norms by which to determine a man's ability to hold office. This does not mean that Jackson was such an idealist that he could not recognize differences in men, but stratification, he felt, lay mainly along lines of talents, education, and usefulness —and it must be admitted, even wealth. These differences, he felt, could not be equalized by human institutions.[63]

Jackson, though he did not rebel against the social caste system as he knew it, particularly slavery, all his life worked toward amelioration of the system.[64] He would have nothing to do with and no respect for any sort of social caste system among white people. When the Richmond *Enquirer,* a paper in the home state of John Randolph, Thomas Jefferson, and other promoters of democratic ideals, criticized Jackson for confining Callava, the Spanish governor of Florida, in jail with his subordinates instead of in the Governor's own home, Jackson came to his own defense with the first chapter of Dueteronomy, verse 17, "Ye shall not respect persons in Judgt: but ye shall hear the small as well as the great."[65] Jackson's response to the distresses of office seekers were rarely if ever purely political. He always showed a sympathetic understanding, an understanding acquired from knowing poverty throughout his days to early manhood, from seeing the distresses wrought by the contraction of currency on the frontier, and by deprivations experienced by him and his soldiers in the Creek wars. A typical letter concerning these office seekers was one written to H. C. Cryer in 1829:

> There is more distressed people here, than any person would imagine who were not an eye witness to the various applications for relief . . . . I have yielded my might [mite] to their relief. would you believe it, a lady who had once rolled in wealth, but whose husband was overtaken by misfortune and reduced to want, and is, and has been an applicant for office, and well recommended, applied to me with tears in her eyes, soliciting relief, assuring me that her children were starving, and to buy them a morsel of bread she had to sell her thimble the day before. an office I had not to give her, and my cash [?] was nearly out, but I could not withhold from her half of the pittance I had with me.[66]

In all probability, Jackson was imposed upon frequently while in

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[61] Knoxville *Register,* May 28, 1824.
[62] Schlesinger, *op. cit.,* 66.
[63] Bank veto as quoted in *Niles' Register,* XLII (July 4, 1832), 368.
[64] See Arda S. Walker, "Religious Views of Andrew Jackson," East Tennessee Historical Society's *Publications,* No. 17 (1945), 61-70.
[65] Bassett, *Life of Andrew Jackson,* II, 150.
[66] Jackson to H. M. Cryer, May 16, 1829, *Correspondence,* IV, 33.

Washington, as indeed he was at home and elsewhere by friends, neighbors, and acquaintances who knew his difficulty in turning down any request.

Though recognizing other inequalities, Jackson felt all should be equal before the law.

> In the full enjoyment of the gifts of heaven, and the fruits of superior industry, economy and virtue, every man is entitled to protection by law. But when the laws undertake to add to these natural and just advantages, artificial distinctions . . . to make the rich richer, and the potent more powerful, the humble members of society, the farmers, mechanics, and the laborers, who have neither the time nor the means of securing like favors to themselves, have a right to complain of the injustice of their government.[67]

Jackson did not have to be one of the farmers, mechanics, or laborers, however, to see the injustices suffered by them and to foster their cause.

In addition to feeling that offices should be thrown open to all qualified and that men should be on an equality before the law—a law which should not emphasize individual distinctions or augment them — Jackson had a strong belief that the people held ultimate sovereignty, but felt that they should be directed in its use. In a number of instances Jackson indicated this belief in the sovereignty of the people who had the "right to alter and amend their system of Government when a majority wills it, as a majority have a right to rule."[68] He voted to repeal the alien and sedition laws, which he felt were in conflict with and an infringement upon the rights of individuals.[69] He looked for the day when Napoleon, then spreading liberty, equality and fraternity over Europe, would land on the shores of England, end tyranny, and destroy the monarchy; then, he felt "a republic will spring from the wreck and millions of distressed people be restored to the rights of man by the conquering arm of Bonaparte."[70] This statement, however, was in line with the Anglophobia of the day, of which Jackson suffered a severe attack. He expressed entire sympathy with the Irish cause and hoped for the independence of Ireland, though refusing to meddle into the affairs of others.[71]

In keeping with his belief that the people were sovereign, Jackson insisted upon openess in his dealings with them. He opposed secrecy in governmental affairs, believing that the "People should know everything and 'give it to Blair' (or Blar as he pronounced it) was almost always his prompt direction whenever any

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[67] Bank veto as quoted in *Niles' Register*, XLII (July 4, 1832), 368.
[68] Jackson to Francis P. Blair, May 23, 1842, *Correspondence*, VI, 153.
[69] Knoxville *Register*, April 23, 1828.
[70] Jackson to James Robertson, January 11, 1798, *Correspondence*, I, 42.
[71] Jackson to Thomas Mooney, May 23, 1842, as quoted in *Niles' Register*, LXII (July 16, 1842), 310.

information was brought to him which might affect the public interest."[72] Even in his own private affairs, "excepting when a duel was in the wind, on which he was a counsellor—most still most secret and most grave," Jackson opposed secrecy. He kept his letters lying on the table so that anyone around him with sufficient curiosity and lack of manners could read them.

His belief in the sovereignty of the people extended to a broad-minded interest in their personal liberty. At a time when over 10,000 persons were committed to prison for small debts in Massachusetts alone,[73] he recommended release of those debtors because "personal liberty is too sacred to be held at the will of the creditor."[74] Before he became president, he had voted for a bill to abolish imprisonment for debt.[75] He felt punishment should have only two purposes—correction and protection, which was an advanced ethical thinking for the day.[76] Jackson was a progressive on reform measures of his day.

Jackson's personality, his dealings with individuals and his expressed ideas on the people, their place in government and rights as individuals, were predominantly democratic. What of his stand on issues of the day, with respect to democratic principles involved? Issues which touched upon this question were: the bank, currency, internal improvements, and the disposition of public lands. Edmund Ludlow charged Cromwell with designing "nothing but to advance himself, sacrificing the public cause to the idol of his ambition,"[77] while Lord Macaulay of a later age, felt that "No Sovereign ever carried to the throne so large a portion of the best qualities of the middling orders, so strong a sympathy with the feelings and interests of his people."[78] A similar controversy is in evidence among American historians as they view Jackson's democratic vicissitudes.

Jackson has been charged with superficiality in his thinking with regard to the popular will. In support of these charges, attention is called to the fact that in no instance is there a record of the General's changing his opinion to conform to that of the populace.[79] This statement is in the main correct, though attention is called to the instance heretofore mentioned in which Jackson voted against a direct tax to satisfy his constituents though he personally opposed

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[72] Fitzpatrick, *op. cit.*, 323.
[73] *Niles' Register*, XXXVIII (March 20, 1830), 69.
[74] J. D. Richardson, *A Compilation of the Messages and Papers of the Presidents* (Washington, 1903), II, 454.
[75] *Annals of the Congress of the United States* (Washington, 1849), 18 Cong. 1 Sess. (1824), 503.
[76] Fitzpatrick, *op. cit.*, 755.
[77] Abbott, *op. cit.*, 169.
[78] *Ibid.*, 91.
[79] Abernethy, "Andrew Jackson and . . . De mocracy," *loc. cit.*, XXXIII, 76.

it. His views on internal improvements were those popularly held in his own state, for long before he took a clear-cut stand on this question, his own people had "developed a majority sentiment in opposition to fededal aid" to internal improvements.[80] Rarely, however, did he change his opinions on political formulae which he adopted—the tariff being an important and major exception. However, this is not sufficient evidence that his enunciated principles were not those sympathetic toward and consistent with the neeeds of the "forgotten man" of his day. This charge of a failure to wait upon popular will before taking his course appears to be a weak foundation upon which to baste the democracy of a leader. If the principles espoused by a leader are those from which the masses derive the greatest benefits, it matters little as to the origin of those principles, be they conceived in the minds of the populace or in the thinking of a few far-sighted leaders. Indeed, leaders gain their positions mainly by virtue of their progressive thinking which transcends that of the mediocre men about them, as is evidenced by the men whom we designate as the great friends of the common man—Jefferson, Lincoln, Wilson, and the two Roosevelts. Moreover, there is substantial proof that some of Jackson's programs were first developed to some extent "in the field," after which they were made great national issues by him.

The issue of the day, which perhaps more clearly identified Jackson with the Democratic cause than any other, was that related to the whole credit system and to the re-chartering of the United State Bank in particular. It will be recalled that the establishment of a bank was one of the principles upon which the Hamiltonian party was founded. Not liking the Hamiltonian theory whereby the government sponsored banking monopolies and government debts, Jackson was one of the few members of the Fifth Congress to vote against a resolution approving Washington's administration. In the vote cast on this measure, Jackson was not disapproving Washington as a patriot, general, leader, or president, but rather his or Hamilton's banking and funding policy. Governor Giles, who was one of the others voting the same way, tried to explain his own as well as Jackson's vote, showing that those opposed to the resolution sponsored by Fisher Ames were opposed only to that part of the resolution which read: "It is our earnest wish that your example may be the guide of your successor." An affirmative vote, Giles pointed out, would have placed the stamp of approval on the establishment of a bank, the funding system, as well as the British treaty —all measures to which Jackson, Giles and their voting colleagues

[80] S. J. Folmsbee, *Sectionalism and Internal Improvements in Tennessee* (Knoxville, 1939), 54.

were opposed.[81]

During the Panic of 1819, Jackson consistently opposed measures which had as their aims the loosening of currency and credit systems. This opposition was based upon the idea that such laxity in a credit system was merely a false remedy for existing ills. The Panic of 1819 was especially burdensome on small farmers of the Southwest, perhaps more so than any subsequent financial crisis.[82] The Tennessee legislature, allegedly to alleviate the farmers' burdens, tried to establish loan offices, capital for which was to be furnished by the state and apportioned among counties for distribution to debtors. At the same time "stay" laws were passed requiring creditors to receive depreciated state banknotes in payment for debt or to wait two years before the collection of those debts. Some felt such laws were designed to favor the small farmer class, and Jackson has been accused of undemocratic leanings for not supporting them.[83] These laws, though of some immediate relief to the merchant class against eastern creditors, were not satisfactory to small farmers who had not even depreciated state bank notes with which to pay their creditors.[84] When Jackson memorialized the state legislature in 1820 against such loan offices, he did so because he felt that rather than being a permanent aid to farmers, it was a ruse to protect land speculators at the expense of farmers; that it encouraged borrowing and "every species of extravagance and folly"; and that it depressed manufactures by keeping wages high and produced bankruptcy by raising prices so that goods could not be sold abroad.[85] Jackson used poor psychology in his opposition to these laws, lost his temper, and stated that every legislator who voted for the bill would be guilty of perjury. Consequently, he met with defeat and the bill was passed.[86] When Kentucky issued paper money, improperly backed, Jackson wrote that he felt Kentucky had placed itself in a demoralized position because of "new fangled projects of wild speculators and unsound politicians."[87] In this stand, Jackson was later proved correct, because contraction was destined to follow inflation. Jackson's opposition to the stay laws in Tennessee was based upon a feeling that they were unconstitutional in that they interfered in contractual agreements between creditors and debtors. William Carroll, who has been called the real "father of the democratic move-

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[81] Knoxville *Register*, September 17, 1828.
[82] Abernethy, "Andrew Jackson and . . . Democracy," *loc. cit.*, XXXIII, 67.
[83] *Ibid.*
[84] *Correspondence*, III, vii; P. M. Hamer, *Tennessee, a History* (New York, 1933), I, 232.
[85] *Niles' Register*, XIX (September 2, 1820), 9-11; J. H. Parks, *Felix Grundy, Champion of Democracy* (University La., 1940), 141-3.
[86] Hamer, *op. cit.*, I, 232, 233.
[87] Jackson to A. J. Donelson, September 3, 1821, *Correspondence*, III, 117.

ment in Tennessee,"[88] also opposed these laws and pointed to the futility of uneconomic relief laws which were always followed by contraction. It was only some nine years later that realities and actualities "verified the predictions of those who opposed" relief laws and easy money.[89] Carroll and his followers, who time after time re-elected him to office in Tennessee, were like Jackson opposed to the interference of the governmnt in the debtor-creditor contractual relationship and both believed in a financial policy based on specie. Although embracing principles similar to those held by Jackson, Carroll has been called Tennessee's "father of democracy," while Jackson for holding similar ideas has been accused of leaning toward aristocratic principles.[90] People in Tennessee, it is true, at this time were agitating for cheap money which in their erroneous opinions would erase all their economic ills. However, this is just an example of the way in which crowds sometimes agitate for movements against their own good and do not resign themselves to the hands of an enlightened minority. As Jackson and Carroll did in this case, democratic leaders must be farsighted and formulate opinion rather than follow the popular cry.

Faint tremors of the anti-bank eruption were felt in Tennessee well before the Jackson administration began its highly effective anti-bank campaign. As early as 1817, Tennessee demonstrated a degree of hostility towards the Second Bank of the United States when the state levied a tax against any branch of that bank established in Tennessee, thus virtually excluding the establishment of such an organization within the state.[91] Later, in 1819, a petition to Governor Joseph McMinn reveals that there was anti-bank sentiment in Tennessee. The petitioner wrote: "Banks . . . have made such constant drains upon that part of the community, who are but too fatally within their power; that . . . they threaten themselves to become the destroyers of that very community, which they were designated to assist and protect."[92] Edward Ward, running against William Carroll in 1820, was "no great advocate of banking institutions of any sort," while William Carroll claimed to be no friend of banks, and felt that Tennessee would have been better off if there had never been one in the state, though he did not advocate sudden discontinuance of existing state banks.[93]

John Catron, a highly influential man in Tennessee, later a United States Supreme Court judge, as early as July 15, 1829, five

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[88] Hamer, *op. cit.*, I, 317; Abernethy, *From Frontier to Plantation*, 229.
[89] Knoxville *Register*, October 14, 1829.
[90] Abernethy, "Andrew Jackson and . . . Democracy," *loc. cit.*, XXXIII, 68-71.
[91] Hamer, *op. cit.*, I, 231.
[92] *Ibid.*, I, 233.
[93] *Ibid.*, I, 236, 237.

months before Blair inaugurated an official blast against the Second Bank of the United States, had published a series of articles opposing the bank, which "is irresponsible for the abuse of its powers to Congress or the state governments." He pointed out that the laborers of Ireland were barefooted beggars by the operation of the same principle there. He felt that the bank should be national in principle, not in name only. Then in dollars and cents Catron showed that the bank received through discounts and premiums $94,500. Only $72.00 of this sum was returned to Tennessee, while to other American stockholders accrued $70,020, the United States Treasury, $13,500 and European stockholders, $10,908! This, Catron exclaimed, is supporting the "debauchery of his Britannic Majesty, George IV." He further stated that the bank drew $170,000 per year in interest to eastern and European coffers, that twenty million dollars worth of property was taken by the Second Bank of the United States in payment of debt — the equivalent of the amount paid for Louisiana, or enough to buy all the farms in Tennessee at execution sale. The capital of the bank, he pointed out, was more than equal to the entire currency of the United States. Moreover, the national bank was paying no taxes into state coffers to educate Tennessee children or build roads in the West.[94] The editor of the Nashville *Republican* said that the nation would be better off without the bank.[95]

Even before Catron's blast, a long letter from J. W. Egnew appeared in the Knoxville *Register,* showing that money was drawn out of the state by the operations of the bank.[96] The writer pointed to the ruin of Lexington, Kentucky, and Cincinnati, Ohio, when specie was withdrawn from branches in those cities by the mother bank in Philadelphia. In the process, it was clear that Cincinnati was mortgaged to a federally-sponsored banking monopoly several hundred miles away. Then Egnew expounded on the inequities of the bank in its dealings with the then isolated areas of Tennessee such as Knoxville, Jonesboro, Chattanooga, etc. The bank lent money for only sixty days at a time; the borrower had to be well known by the bank directory or well recommended by one known to the directory. Then the borrower had to ride sometimes 500 miles to secure a loan for two months, after which he must retrace his steps to return the loan or renew the note if the banker was willing. Such a trip would cost him $25.00 and thirty-five days time. The federal branch bank, he further stated, had paralyzed the activities of state banks. Thus it can be said that there was more than a

[94] Knoxville *Register,* July 8, 15, 1829.
[95] *Ibid.,* quoting Nashville *Republican.*
[96] Knoxville *Register,* July 1, 1829.

latent dislike for the federal bank in Tennessee before Jackson's formal attack upon the bank.[97] Opposition to the United States Bank seems to have originated among the people, and Jackson fought a bitter fight for them, a battle which he continued even when the people themselves wavered on the issue. The outcome is the well-know story of the destruction of the great monopoly which repeatedly boasted that it could destroy any man or government department which dared oppose it.

On internal improvements, a story which has been ably told elsewhere,[98] Jackson was reflecting the views of his home state in opposing federal aid to projects of a purely local nature. The Tennessee delegation in Congress repeatedly voted against measures for federal assistance to internal improvements by a vote of 5 to 4. The Tennessee delegation in the House in 1826 cast three votes against a bill to gain federal assistance in repairing the Cumberland Road. Tennessee developed a majority feeling against federal assistance several years before Jackson took a clear-cut stand.[99] Some westerners, it is true, favored internal improvements, but even they felt that such improvements within a state if carried on by the federal government would be unconstitutional. The Knoxville *Enquirer,* a paper which mildly supported Jackson in the 1824 election, veered to the right in the 1828 election to become the only paper in Tennessee against him and gave as its reason Jackson's stand on internal improvements.[100] Yet, three years before, the editor of the same paper had opposed even those measures which had as their object the "Bettering of the condition of the people" if "they were at variance with the spirit and letter of the constitution," pointing out with approval that our constitution was essentially aristocratic.[101] It was on the constitutional point that Jackson opposed the building of intra-state roads, together with the fact that he did not consider a national debt a national blessing.[102] James Standifer, congressman from Tennessee's third district, who felt "the National Road would furnish so great an outlet of commerce that I can scarcely believe that anyone would be willing to oppose its policy," questioned its constitutionality.[103] Nevertheless, Jackson approved more measures for internal improvement between states than any of his predeces-

[97] A. M. Schlesinger Jr., following Abernethy closely, feels that there was nothing in Tennessee that indicated that there was "any general hostility toward such institutions [banks] before Jackson became President." He feels that anti-bank agitation began in the East., after which it spread to the West. See Schlesinger, *op. cit.*, 77; Abernethy, "Andrew Jackson and . . . Democracy," *loc. cit.*, XXXIII, 70.

[98] Folmsbee, *Sectionalism*, 54.

[99] *Ibid.*

[100] Knoxville *Enquirer*, March 26, 1828.

[101] *Ibid.*, October 28, 1825.

[102] Richardson, *op. cit.*, III, 122..

[103] Knoxville *Enquirer*, March 17, 1825.

sors. While in Congress, 1798-99 and 1823-25, Jackson consistently voted for internal improvement measures.[104] His opinions, he said in 1830, were the same as at the time he was senator.[105] During the first two years of his administration he approved expenditures of $2,501,490 for internal improvements — $418,159 in excess of what Adams had spent in four years and $1,424,898 more than Adams had spent in the first two years of his administration.[106] Thus, in supporting state-sponsored internal improvements, insofar as they fell within the means of the government, Jackson was reflecting the views of people on the frontier who had elevated him to the place of first magistrate of the land.

On other questions of the day before the people, Jackson's views conformed to those of his electorate. One of the most important to the frontiersman was that of the disposition of public lands. Thomas Hart Benton, champion of the settlers, was in favor of giving poor land free to poor families and graduating the price of other public lands. He introduced a bill to this effect in Congress.[107] The people saw in this bill "hundreds and thousands of our fellow citizens provided for who are at present clothed in rags, labouring under penury and want and really doomed to feed upon the wind."[108] Jackson agreed with Benton in the main. He felt that land should be sold to actual settlers at very low prices.[109] In 1817, he opposed the policy of the government in withholding lands sold by North Carolina to the people of Tennessee and Kentucky. The government wanted to reserve these lands for Indian hunting grounds.[110] He felt it was to the interest of the states that the price of lands be "reduced and graduated, and that after they have been offered for a certain number of years, the refuse remaining unsold shall be abandoned to the state."[111] He believed that a true policy of government would provide that lands "should be sold to settlers in limited parcels at a price barely sufficient to reimburse to the United States the expense of the present system and the cost arising under our Indian compact."[112]

Jackson has been charged with sponsoring land speculation and practices which reacted against the small landholder, a man who threw his inflence with a "notorious shyster" to despoil land occu-

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[104] *Annals of Congress*, 18 Cong., 1 Sess., 137, 208, 209, 570, 786, 565, 367-70; *ibid.*, 4 Cong., 2 Sess., 1501; *Congressional Debates*, 18 Cong., 2 Sess. (1825), 356, 364, 671, 681.
[105] *Niles' Register*, XXXVIII (June 12, 1830), 285.
[106] *Ibid.*, XLII (March 31, 1832), 79.
[107] Knoxville *Enquirer*, July 7, 1825.
[108] *Ibid.*, June 14, 1827.
[109] Richardson, *op. cit.*, II, 601.
[110] Jackson to Monroe, March 4, 1817, *ibid.*, II, 279.
[111] Richardson, *op. cit.*, III, 69.
[112] *Ibid.*, II, 601.

pants of long standing.[113] This charge grows out of Jackson's opposition to certain laws sponsored by Felix Grundy which provided that persons who had held land for seven years under the laws of Tennessee and North Carolina could not be evicted, and a later law of champerty forbiding speculators to buy land which sellers had not held for at least a year, and providing that all lawyers who entered into an agreement in which their emolument was to be a portion of land won in the suit should be dropped from the bar.[114] It was felt that such agreements, which were common in that day, led often to unfair tactics on the part of the lawyer who was a party to the suit as well as practitioner before the court. Jackson opposed these laws. In this opposition, some have seen Jackson merely as a land speculator protecting his own selfish interests.

There is reason to believe that his opposition to the Grundy laws grew out of his legalistic mind rather than a support of the principle that absentee claimants had a right to evict occupants of long standing. Most of the absentee claimants in the case at question were inhabitants of North Carolina,[115] and the Tennessee laws were sponsored to favor Tennesseans against North Carolinians who had the legal claims to the lands. This was not Jackson's idea of legality. Being a lawyer, he could not sanction any law which would evict the lawful owners of land regardless of whom the laws benefitted. The laws replaced an older Tennessee law requiring that land titles be traced in an unbroken chain to the original owners. The mere fact that an additional judge had to be appointed to the state supreme court to uphold the constitutionality of this law is adequate proof of Jackson's sound basis for opposing its legality. The judge was specifically appointed for this one case,[116] as provision was made at the time of his appointment that the next vacancy should not be filled. Moreover, many supporters of the law did so for political purposes since more than half the voters in Tennessee were involved.[117] Their positions were much less tenable than was Jackson's on a legal basis. The other premise upon which the Grundy laws were based — that a lawyer by being paid in money would be more honest than if paid with a part of the land won in the suit — according to Jackson's way of thinking was ridiculous and could in no way remedy an evil practice. There was a sound and legal basis for Jackson's opposition to the Grundy laws, an opposition on grounds other than a lack of sympathy with the cause of

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[113] Abernethy, *From Frontier to Plantation*, 266-7.
[114] Parks, *op. cit.*, 159; G. G. Van Deusen, *Life of Henry Clay* (Boston, 1937), 168.
[115] Abernethy, *From Frontier to Plantation*, 268.
[116] Parks, *op. cit.*, 159.
[117] Abernethy, *From Frontier to Plantation*, 268.

the settlers.

Jackson had in the past dealt in land purchases and sales. It is true that he bought and sold land, though not always at an enhanced price, but he was not a land speculator in the true sense. The best-known case of his land dealing, speculating if anyone prefers, was the Allison land deal. A brief review of this case is not amiss since it has been used to prove that Jackson was a ruthless speculator. In 1795 David Allison, who owed Norton Pryor $21,800, mortgaged to Pryor 85,000 acres of land in Tennessee on the forks of the Duck River. The debt was not liquidated on the appointed date; so Pryor entered into an agreement with Judge Joseph Anderson, then senator from Tennessee, by which Anderson was to obtain a decree of foreclosure and receive as his emolument some of the land. Anderson, pressed with other duties, asked Jackson, then superior court judge of Tennessee, in a written memorandum to secure some eminent attorney to have the mortgage foreclosed in the federal court at Nashville. The memorandum gave full instructions as to where the case should be brought and how handled. Anderson guaranteed Jackson a portion of the land for his services. Inasmuch as Jackson was then on the superior court, he hired John Overton to handle the proceedings, turning over to him Anderson's memorandum. Overton secured a decree of foreclosure on the mortgage as directed in 1801. The following spring, the land was sold publicly at execution sale by a federal marshal. Some 40,000 acres were bid in for Pryor, 35,000 in Anderson's name, and 10,000 acres in the name of Jackson, who turned 5,000 acres over to John Overton and Jenkins Whiteside for their services, in keeping with a prior agreement. Jackson, in 1805, tried to purchase Pryor's land for $15,000 with a warranty title or $10,000 with a special title, believing that there was no question of title.[118]

Several years elapsed during which the validity of the sale was not questioned. Then Colonel Andrew Erwin, the father-in-law of Henry Clay's daughter, while re-surveying the land in 1807, as agent for Pryor, discovered through Jenkins Whiteside a probable flaw in the title, since the proceedings were in a federal court which had no jurisdiction. Erwin thereupon purchased Pryor's land and rights. In so doing, his action was clearly that of a speculator buying up disputed claims. A sharp trader in land, Erwin saw a way whereby he could strengthen this title. He knew that if the foreclosure was null, the mortgage was still in force and that an assignment of the mortgage to him by Pryor would to a very great extent secure him. He made an agreement with Pryor by which he would

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[118] Jackson to John Jackson, June 12, 1805, *Correspondence*, I, 115; Joseph An-

obtain an assignment of the mortgage when he chose. However, he waited a few years without making any move to clear the title. In the meantime, Jackson had sold most of his land, giving general warranty deeds. He discovered in 1811, through Jenkins Whiteside, that the federal court proceedings under which the land had been sold were null. Jackson was assured, however, that the Allisons would be unable to redeem the mortgage, so his title was safe. The old general told Whiteside that he "had never sold any land but what I thought the title was a good one, that I [Jackson] would not rest my title on such a foundation, that David Allison was indebted to me for a sum of $20,000 and that if the heirs could not redeem I would endeavor to secure my debt and those honest men to whom I had sold when I thought my title was good."[119] Jackson, thus, to protect his own interests and the interests of those to whom he had sold land, against the Blounts to whom the land was originally granted and who, he heard, were planning legal proceedings to recover title to the land, rode into Georgia, located the Allison heirs, and purchased their equity of redemption. In doing this, he obtained the right to clear the land of the mortgage and became the owner.[120] This procedure on the part of Jackson was necessary to protect himself against the claims of those to whom he had sold his share of the land, giving general warranty deeds. If those occupants who had purchased land from Jackson under such deeds had lost their land and had proceeded against him, Jackson would have been liable, not for the twenty-five cents an acre for which he had sold the property, but for the enhanced current price. By such proceedings he would have been "absolutely ruined." After securing the redemption rights, instead of resorting to the courts to obtain satisfaction for his undoubted claims, Jackson proceeded to make liberal settlements with the others involved in the original foreclosure of the mortgage.

In only one instance did he have difficulty in arriving at a satisfactory agreement. That was with Colonel Erwin. In dealing with Erwin, who, it will be remembered, had purchased the land under a title known at the time to be faulty—Erwin was a speculator

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derson to Jackson, March 24, 1806, *ibid.*, I, 167.

[119] Jackson to James Jackson, August 25, 1819, *ibid.*, II, 427; Knoxville *Register*, June 4, 11, 1828.

[120] Knoxville *Register*, June 11, 1828; Jackson to James Jackson, August 25, 1819, *Correspondence*, V, 427. This debt was owed to Jackson partly because of three notes in hand which Allison had given Jackson in 1796, which Jackson had endorsed, believing Allison to be solvent, but which he later had to pay. In paying these notes, he had to sell 300,000 acres of his own land, at a price of 25 cents an acre, by which sale he was brought to the brink of "ruin." The land in 1819 was worth $200,000. These notes plus accrued interest amounted to $13,000, which, together with other indebtedness, including bail which Jackson had stood for Allison, amounted to $20,000 owed by the Allison estate.

and as late as 1838 was still engaged in speculation—, Jackson wanted to redeem the mortgage and expressed the desire that their respective claims might be amicably adjusted. The right of redemption had always been regarded with favor by the courts, but Erwin was adamant in trying to keep the land and refusing to clear the title. During the negotiations Jackson made several offers which Mrs. Erwin called fair offers. He offered the entire tract except the land within the bounds held by other claimants, if Erwin would pay him the $20,000 he had given the Allison heirs, but it was to no avail. He tried to pay the principal of the mortgage plus interest but failed. He even attempted to effect a compromise, Judge Overton, White and M'Nairy being appointed as arbitrators.[121] For several years these efforts dragged on. Finally, he took the matter to court to compel Erwin to receive the mortgage money plus the interest and relinquish the mortgage and land. The proceedings continued for a number of years, and before they were completed Jackson dropped his claims against the 40,000 acres held by Erwin, because Erwin's wife, who had once been a close friend, in tears pled in behalf of her husband. Jackson let Erwin keep the land, his only proviso being that Jackson's partners, James Jackson, who had helped him raise money to pay the mortgage, and Patrick Darby, his lawyer, would not lose by the settlement.[122] Erwin was happy to accept Jackson's offer now and proceeded to pay James Jackson some $10,000 for his claims and to satisfy the fees of Darby. Jackson later paid $2,700 in court costs out of his own pocket. The old general heaved a sigh of relief and remarked, "I am sure it [the suit] will be a lesson to me and keep me from law the ballance [*sic*] of my life."[123] For this conduct Abernethy has raised an accusing finger, stating that Jackson made "others pay for his mistakes."[124]

Another piece of evidence sometimes introduced against Jackson to support the charge that he was a speculator at the expense of others is tied up with his purchase of land in Alabama.[125] People at a land sale, in deference to Jackson, whom they highly esteemed as the Hero of New Orleans, refused to bid against him, permitting him out of their gratitude to take as much as he wanted at the government price before they started bidding. Jackson saw the situation and refrained from taking advantage of the gratitude and cour-

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[121] Knoxville *Register*, June 11, 1828; M'Nairy to Jackson, September 3, 1828, *Correspondence*, III, 205; Jackson to M'Nairy, September 6, 1823, *ibid.*, III, 208; Jackson to James K. Polk, February 11, 1839, *ibid.*, VI, 5.

[122] Knoxville *Register*, June 11, 1828.

[123] Jackson to John Coffee, February 15, 1828, *Correspondence*, III, 229.

[124] Abernethy, *From Frontier to Plantation*, 263. The charges originally made by political enemies, not even believed by those making the charges (See Knoxville *Register*, June 8 and 11, 1828), have thus become a part of recorded history.

[125] Knoxville *Register*, June 4, 1828.

tesy of his friends by purchasing only one section instead of a large tract of highly desirable land, as he had planned to do. The land was later sold for $10 an acre on credit for three years without interest. "Thus," in the words of the Knoxville *Register*, "the charge of a huge profit dwindles to an insignificant sum and affords a striking illustration of Jackson's enemies' regard for . . . the truth."[126] It also illustrates that he was not a speculator in Alabama lands, nor did he take advantage of friends in buying. While Jackson did deal in land, as did all men of property in the Southwest in his day and later, he did not do so as a ruthless speculator, nor did he make any highly profitable deals. Land at that time stood high on the list as a medium of exchange. When a man made purchases or paid for services, he frequently deeded property. Moreover, Jackson made a great many land purchases for others, acting with the power of attorney.[127] Too often, these purchases are confused and looked upon as Jackson's own. In some instances, Jackson, then in the merchandising business, was deeded part of the land for his real estate services. His stand for hard money was in opposition to speculative tendencies, and many utterances of his against speculation appear throughout his letters and papers.

History has sometimes dealt and will continue to deal unsympathetically with Jackson. There have been and will always be, on the other hand, historians to lift his memory to an ever-higher position. Jackson's stature in its conflict with oblivion will probably increase rather than decrease with time. But it should be clear to all who write or read history that in him dwelt certain democratic elements which are evident in his character, in his dealings with people, and in his sponsorship of principles for the welfare of all people. These elemental principles of Jackson's whole life cannot be erased from yesterday's slate. Jackson was one of democracy's great exponents in Tennessee before he became the exponent of democracy for working people throughout the nation.

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[126] *Ibid.*

[127] Joseph Anderson to Jackson, December 3, 1795, *Correspondence*, I, 18; Jackson to G. W. Campbell, January 15, 1807, *ibid.*, I, 169; Jackson to John Overton, June, 1796, *ibid.*, I, 14, 15.

THE TENNESSEE ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY AND THE WEST

By Guy Miles

The Tennessee Antiquarian Society was one of many related literary ventures of the early West. Of interest in itself, the Society is of much more interest for what it reveals about the problems and methods of a period in western history. In this paper, which is a period study, it will be so considered.

The West first came into its own after the War of 1812.[1] It shared in the then unprecedented economic expansion of the nation that followed the war, and it also took part in a movement directed toward developing the nation in literary and social matters, which ran parallel to the Era of Good Feeling.[2] Or more correctly, western centers like Cincinnati, Lexington, and Nashville were for the first time in a position to take part in national affairs of this kind. The western phase of the movement may be called the Literary Revival, a term sometimes used then. The overall problem was to transplant ideas and institutions from an older society to a new one.

The Literary Revival, which might well be recognized as a unit in the literary and social history of the West, was distinguished by its scope.[3] Schools, religious denominations, the professions, and lodges were reexamined according to contemporary standards and brought up to date. The newspaper developed from an inflexible poineer newssheet into an organ capable of reflecting a wide range of interests. The theatre was established. New ideas in architecture and agriculture were introduced. Literature, as the term was then used, included all these things as well as belles-lettres, which were also encouraged. There was also a spirit of enthusiasm, which was lacking both before and afterwards. Unless westerners are credited with the zeal of founders some of their undertakings will appear quite unreasonable. In addition, conditions fostered the free circulation of ideas. Jeffersonian principles were for the time being uppermost. Sectionalism, though present, was subordinated to na-

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[1] F. J. Turner, *Rise of the New West, 1819-1829* (New York, 1906), 3 ff.

[2] Narrowly conceived this is the "literary war" with Britain, for which see F. L. Pattee, *The First Century of American Literature, 1770-1870* (New York, 1935), 268 ff.

[3] These statements are based upon the writer's dissertation, Literary Beginnings in Nashville, 1815-1825, Vanderbilt University, 1941.

tionalism, and attitudes on public issues had not yet crystallized into a struggle between Whigs and Democrats, all of which made for freedom of thought and action. The Literary Revival, as thus understood, did not last long. Beginning around 1815, it had by 1830 lost its force. But by then the West was no longer the same.

There are difficulties in the way of treating this subject freely. For one thing, the Era of Good Feeling is not highly regarded, being thought of as an indistinct, transitional period between Jefferson and Jackson, or in literature between, let us say, the Hartford Wits and the Trancendentalists; and favorable criticism will be viewed skeptically. The gravest obstacle, however, comes from the frontier viewpoint of Frederick Jackson Turner, which reigns supreme as far as the history of the West is concerned.[4] In certain fields the frontier historians are unexcelled, but not in what might be called "cultural" subjects. Professor Ralph Leslie Rusk, for example, found that dramatic taste in the Middle West steadily declined up to 1840, the limit of his study.[5] On the whole these historians search for frontier influences and earmarks that are peculiarly American, and their reports, like Professor Rusk's study of the theatre, are of a negative character.

The object here is to observe how Nashville and the West grew up. During the Literary Revival a pioneer society was transformed into something resembling the older centers of the East. How it did so will be seen in part in the history of the Antiquarian Society. The discussion will be limited to four definite topics, each of which will be related to the age, as in the first section, where the origin of the Society is shown to exemplify the way in which contemporary ideas were introduced and established in the West. The transactions are not included. It is planned in a subsequent article to present these publications as representative of the times and conforming with contemporary standards, as in scientific and historical writings.

By way of introduction it may be said that the Society was begun in Nashville in 1820 and that it was in existence for a period of three years. The Society itself has more or less been lost sight of and attention has been given to its president, John Haywood. What represented its transactions were written by Haywood and published by him in 1823. They were in two volumes, one on aboriginal history, the other on the pioneer history of Tennessee.[6] The first

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[4] F. J. Turner, *The Frontier in American History* (New York, 1921), 1-38. A significant commentary on the Tunerian viewpoint is by D. R. Fox, *Ideas in Motion* (New York, 1935).

[5] R. L. Rusk, *The Literature of the Middle Western Frontier* (New York, 1926), I, 412-413.

[6] John Haywood, *The Civil and Political History of the State of Tennessee from its Earliest Settlements up to the Year 1796 . . .* (Knoxville, 1823). And *The Natural and Aboriginal History of the State of Tennessee, up to the First Settlements Therein*

learned society in its region, it had an auspicious beginning and much was expected from it. Nashville at the time had a population of less than three thousand, a new academy, a defunct pioneer college, a struggling theatre, an old courthouse, and many plans. The Literary Revival was only getting under way.

Origin of the Society

John M. Lea explained the beginning of the Society in this way: John Haywood had proposed to write the history of the state and he "organized, as an auxiliary to his labors, an association known as 'The Tennessee Antiquarian Association'."[7] This is the usual view, and it is important in that it reflects the Haywood tradition (see below), and does not represent a documentary study. The background of the Society was more extensive and the Society itself more important than Judge Lea thought. In general it was a part of the Literary Revival, deriving its inspiration from the larger movement. Specifically, it belonged to that part of the Literary Revival which pertained to science. Viewed against the contemporary background, Haywood and the antiquarians may be seen as one of a large number of groups in various parts of the country going about the same business in about the same manner.

The predominant interests of the Society were scientific, but the key to the beginning of the Society was a branch of science—that having to do with antiquities. By this was meant the study of the remains of a prehistoric race in America, the so-called aborigines. It was known that America had once been inhabited by a populous race, and it was supposed variously that this was a white race then extinct, or a race identical with the Indians, or that there had been several races. The object of the antiquarians was to preserve and describe aboriginal remains. The Tennessee group came into existence to do this, and by far the greater part of their transactions was on this subject. It also accounted for the name of the Society.

The subject of antiquities had a recognized scientific standing, as may be seen in the fact that two national journals were open to the antiquarians. The American Philosophical Society in its new series begun in 1818 and the American Antiquarian Society in its first volume in 1820 both encouraged research in antiquities. And it was not singular that the contemporary interest in the subject should be found in a remote section of the Union. For one thing, every literate person was familiar with it. A voluminous literature

by the White People in the Year 1768 (Nashville, 1823). They are referred to as the *Political History* and the *Aboriginal History*.

[7] J. M. Lea, "Tennessee Historical Society," *American Historical Magazine*, VI (1901), 353 ff.

on American antiquities had already been written, and certain titles had been recognized as standard in the field and were a part of the general reading of any educated person. Such books were Thomas Jefferson's *Notes on the State of Virginia* and James Adair's *History of the American Indians* (1775). Outside the United States other parts of the world had come in for study — South America, India, the Pacific. Writers ranged in talent from the Spanish priests who followed the conquistadors into South America and Mexico to Captain Cook and the scientist Alexander Humboldt. Antiquities also had a sensational side, which meant that the man on the street was willing to talk about the subject.[8]

But the inciting factor in the origin of the Society lay close at hand. The new country was literally strewn with the remains of an old civilization. There were mounds, graves, fortifications, and a great variety of prehistoric specimens, and they were to be found in every section of the country. In certain localities the remains were so extensive that they seemed to bear evidence of ancient cities. One of these was near Nashville. To travellers this was one of the impressive sights of the West. The itinerant preacher, Lorenzo Dow, expressed the common feeling when he said in 1815, as he rode along the Ohio River: "The marks of antiquity in this western world are so conspicious that should New England be depopulated, the monuments will not be so visible in a few hundred years as these are now."[9]

Westerners looked upon these objects like true scientists. The West, they reasoned, was a new country and its antiquities were unspoiled, but as the population grew, as it was doing rapidly, aboriginal remains would be destroyed by the plow or the idle curiosity of the people. Moses Fisk complained that these objects were being lost by being found, thinking of how mounds were dug into by curious persons and their contents dissipated. It was therefore the duty of westerners to preserve their antiquities for scientific study.

The western phase of the antiquarian movement may be said to have started in 1815. At that time the challenge that lay in antiquities for westerners was expressed by Daniel Drake:[10]

> No objects in the state of Ohio seem to have more forcibly arrested the attention of travellers, nor employed a greater number of pens, than its antiquities. It is to be regretted, however, that so hastily and superficially

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[8] Haywood's bibliography for the *Aboriginal History* was comprehensive. W. E. Beard, *It Happened in Nashville* (Nashville, 1912), 11-16, recounted the sensational but intriguing story of the "aboriginal belle," a mummy unearthed in Tennessee around 1811. The event was referred to by H. M. Brackenridge, *Views of Louisiana* (Pittsburgh, 1814), 184, 186.

[9] Lorenzo Dow, *Life, Travels, Labors, and Writings of Lorenzo Dow* (New York, 1856), 154.

[10] Daniel Drake, *Picture of Cincinnati* (Cincinnati, 1815), 199.

have they been examined by strangers, and so generally neglected by ourselves, that the materials for a full description have not yet been collected. Drake had good reason to be pleased by the response. Within five years, or by 1820, groups were formed in several of the larger towns, including Nashville, to do what he had called for. Around John D. Clifford in Lexington and Caleb Atwater in Cincinnati, the forces gathered. These men were, so to speak, the official antiquarians of their regions. Cincinnati took the lead when a museum was projected in 1818 on a comparatively ambitious scale and opened two years later. At its opening, Dr. Drake made an address outlining its scope and importance and giving further impetus to the movement.[11]

Nashville responded quickly — in 1818 — but in an unexpected way. The first step was taken by a newcomer, the portrait painter Ralph Earl.[12] It is probable that he arrived in Nashville in 1818. In that case, he lost no time in putting himself before the public by introducing an idea he had brought with him and for which he could not have found many supporters in so short a time. In doing so he found a natural ally in another newcomer of a progressive spirit, George Tunstall, one of the editors of the *Whig*. Earl and Tunstall reached an understanding whereby they would jointly sponsor a museum, and in early summer of that year proposals appeared for founding a "Museum of Natural and Artificial Curiosities for the State of Tennessee."[13]

From the records it would appear that in one respect Earl was the outstanding member of the Nashville group. Haywood was the writer, Earl did the field work. He was active in excavating mounds and in assembling specimens, and in two years his collection had grown to the extent that it could be opened to the public.[14] Inasmuch as one purpose of the antiquarians was to preserve antiquities, the museum was essential to their work. Earl's interest in antiquities lasted for about a decade, or for several years after the end of the Society, and if he turned over his collection to Gerard Troost, as is probable, his work was in the direct line of scientific progress in the state.[15]

Yet Earl was important as a type rather than as an individual. He was one of these gentlemen who have been called "carriers of

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[11] *Western Review* (Lexington, Ky., 1820), II, 363-369; G. W. Ranck, *History of Lexington, Kentucky* (Cincinnati, 1872), 295.

[12] For Earl see S. J. Bassett (ed.), *Correspondence of Andrew Jackson* (Washington D. C., 1926-1935), III, 39.

[13] Nashville *Whig*, June 27, 1818.

[14] *Ibid.*, April 26, May 17, 1820.

[15] *Ibid.*, January 16, 1822, January 6, July 12, 1826. See also Earl Letters (in the Tennessee State Library), Troost to Earl, 1828; H. G. Rooker, "Gerard Troost," *Tennessee Historical Magazine*, III (October, 1932), 3-19.

culture."[16] He deserved the title for two reasons, for his profession and for his interest in antiquities, two talents that were wanting in Nashville before he came. His prominence as painter-antiquarian in a place like Nashville in 1818 can be easily imagined, more especially since he acted like a plain citizen and did not put on airs. As a painter he gained a measure of distinction for his portraits of local celebrities, as Jackson, Coffee, Carroll, and Shelby.[17] In appreciation of his talent attention was called to the fact that he had traveled widely and had studied "under the celebrated [Benjamin] West, of England, and [Jacques Louis] David, of France."[18] On his travels he had observed the second idea that he brought to Nashville. In many places artists were the natural custodians of a museum. A museum served them as a gallery in which to exhibit their paintings, and the technical skill of a painter qualified them above other members of the community to handle objects of antiquarian interest. Such was the case of Charles William Peale in Philadelphia.[19]

One year later Nashville took the second and decisive step toward entering the antiquarian movement. In 1819 Judge Haywood published his *Christian Advocate,* a full-length book.[20] He was to prove to be the official antiquarian of the region, and his book was the first sign that he was interested in science. This book, like Earl's museum, has never been connected with the Antiquarian Society. On first sight its contents do not bespeak any connection. It has chiefly to do with biblical prophecy and the evidences which support the Christian religion. Yet it was definitely a part of the scientific movement. Haywood was more than commonly religious in his thinking, and he was more in sympathy with the evangelistic thought of the Wesleyans than with deism, which was still uppermost in the professions. He was also interested in science, but not to the extent of becoming a materialist. In reading the scientists he was keenly aware of the implications of their findings upon Christian tenets, and so it happened that his book, one of the first non-legal books in the state, was an attempt to reconcile religion and science. In the *Christian Advocate* he simply took the stand that he was ready to bring the sciences to the western country but not the Darwinian (Erasmus Darwin) viewpoint.

It was only a matter of time until others would gather around

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[16] Fox, *op. cit.*, 78.

[17] Nashville *Whig*, July 18, 1821 (about a six months trip to New Orleans and Natchez on which he supplied the two towns with portraits of Jackson as the Hero of the Battle of New Orleans).

[18] *Ibid.*, May 16, 1818.

[19] "Art and Artists in Baltimore," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XXXIII (September, 1938), 213-214.

[20] Printed by Thomas G. Bradford in Nashville, 1819.

Earl and Haywood. This followed within a year. Haywood probably took the lead, as he would do in any undertaking in which he was interested. In the legal profession he had a niche all his own and personally he was strong-minded and noted for sheer intellect. According to public notice, a meeting was held on Saturday evening, July 1, 1820. The Society was then organized, officers were elected, and plans were drawn up in the form of articles of association. Wilkins Tannehill as recording secretary set down in the Minutes the business that was transacted, and Haywood as the first president made an address which was printed in the *Whig*.[21]

Such then, if considered against a contemporary background, was the origin of one of the earliest learned societies in the West. In its origin it also makes clearer the way in which ideas were transplanted in a new country. To begin with, one finds a subject in which there was widespread contemporary interest. There followed the introduction of that interest in the new country, which might be accomplished through a carrier of culture like Earl or a person like Haywood, whose reading prepared him to follow the example of other places. Then with two or three individuals like Earl and Haywood actively interested, other supporters would be won over exactly as described by Benjamin Franklin in his *Autobiography*. With a sufficient number interested, means would be found whereby concerted action might be taken, and the only means usually at hand was the association, analogous to Thomas Carlyle's joint-stock-company for cultural purposes. To this extent the Society reveals the working methods of the West.

Objectives of the Society

Antiquities brought the Nashville group together. This much is clear, and it is specific. They also investigated the pioneer history of the state, as is well known. But from this point it is impossible to pin them down to specific objectives. Four objectives were named in the articles of association: education and general literature, in addition to antiquities and history. But education and general literature are not specific, and their inclusion has been confusing. It will now be seen that the group represented at once a scientific society, a historical society, an educational society, and a literary society. But it was more, and to explain how it was such it will be necessary to relate the Society to the Literary Revival. The Society was a product of the age.

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[21] Minutes of the Tennessee Antiquarian Society, in the Tennnessee Historical Society; Nashville *Whig*, July 19, 1820. Active members are listed below under the heading, "Qualifications of the Antiquarians."

Even as a scientific society the undertaking was ambitious. In addition to antiquities many other sciences were involved. Thus at the first business meeting members were assigned (according to the Minutes) to different sections of the state, for which they were to collect "all such phenomena, relics of antiquity and organic remains, as may tend to reflect light upon the zoology both ancient and present . . . ." From this statement zoology and paleontology (or ancient zoology) may be added. These members were further to collect data bearing upon the "geological history or upon the government, laws, customs, manners, religion, arts, sciences and civilization of the ancient inhabitants, or upon their immediate or remote ancestry." Geology here appears along with ethnology and archaeology. At the same meeting it was resolved that one member be appointed to procure basic vocabularies for six Indian dialects; thus linguistics appears on the roster of sciences. One section of the articles of association related solely to descriptive geography of the state.

Earl's proposal for the museum was an associated document, and it bears out the general character of the Society. In it a mineralogical cabinet was specified — "stones, earths, & minerals" that would bring into view "the natural riches of the country." The museum was also to contain "much of whatever will illustrate the works of nature," which is a clear reference to what is called natural philosophy. Mechanical invention was to be encouraged by exhibiting "models of labour saving machines." Taxidermy appeared in the "preserved specimens" of animals that were called for. And there was the art gallery.

If this scientific program appears ambitious, one may refer to the Cincinnati organization.[22] Dr. Drake proposed that the following be embraced: zoology, ornithology, fossils, mineralogy, geology, sculpture, painting, drawing, and inventions. He added that the principles of magnetism, electricity, galvanism, mechanics, hydrostatics, optics, and the solar system would be demonstrated. If one does not like to accept Dr. Drake's plan as standard, he may refer to the satirical account of the activities of that universal genius, Walter the Doubter, in *Knickerbocker's History of New York* (Book IV), or observe Dr. Samuel L. Mitchell of Columbia College, a recognized and not an imaginary scientist, then in his heyday.[23] Such was a scientific society at the time.[24]

Next to antiquities, the members worked most extensively in history. They read no papers on historical subjects, and appear to

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[22] *Western Review*, II (1820), 363 ff.

[23] G. P. Merrill, *First Hundred Years of American Geology* (New Haven, 1924), 50-53.

[24] Contemporary procedure in such matters will be dealt with in a subsequent article, as stated above.

have been interested exclusively in collecting documents — documents of all kinds. The Minutes show that plans were made for members to contact various individuals, especially the "elders" who had participated in the early history of the state, and to get from them narratives of their experiences while they were yet alive. The idea of recording the early history of the state had doubtless occurred to various individuals from time to time — it was being done in neighboring states — but no definite plan to do so appeared until shortly before the formation of the Society, or in March, 1820. Public notice was then given that "a company of gentlemen" had agreed to undertake the task and a request for information was made.[25] Then in July, at their first meeting, the members of the Society incorporated this proposal in their articles of association. It is also true that this proposal helped to bring the group together.

It was in their activities as an educational and literary society that the distinctive character of the group first became apparent. The first five meetings were confined to antiquities and history. Then at the sixth meeting, held in January, 1822, the Society turned to subjects in "general literature." This was according to the plan adopted at the first meeting, in which education and general literature were two of the four subjects covered. Education need not have been named for it was embraced by general literature. It was named probably owing to the presence of William Hume, minister and former professor of languages in Cumberland College. It was he who made the only offering on education, a paper on the "different systems of general education adopted in Europe and America." Another paper was on the relation of climate and morality to the progress of knowledge, a patriotic or nationalistic subject; another was on the effect of paper money on society, a controversial subject of timely interest, but in discussing it the Society was on dangerous ground, as will be seen.

The turn from science to literature was significant. It gave the Society a contemporary stamp. It will be seen that members of the Society were not prepared to pursue any subject very long. Earl and Haywood were interested primarily in antiquities. William Hume had education most at heart. Tannehill, though interested in these matters, was most concerned at the time with the Masonic Lodge. Thus, the Society could take up a variety of subjects. It could, in fact, act as a clearing house for the great variety of subjects in which the west was then interested. Such was the character of the Society, as shown by the objectives listed in the Minutes and above all by the inclusion of the comprehensive object, general

[25] Nashville *Whig*, March 1, 1820.

literature, in its roster.

The objectives of the Society may be expressed concisely as follows: its immediate purpose was to do what it could of practical value in several fields, as science and history. For example, formerly when the geographer Jedidiah Morse wanted specific information about a section of the country, he had to address an inquiry to some private citizen.[26] The antiquarians could improve this situation. They wrote the fullest, albeit tentative, description of the state published up to that time. The larger aim of the Society was to lay the foundations for scientific and historical study, and to shape the discussion of other subjects and at the same time create a demand for improvement in them. And in this larger aim the Society, or the men associated with it, succeeded. Within a year after the Society came to an end, the first trained scientist came to Tennessee, the chemist Nathaniel Bowen.[27] In education Phillip Lindsley came. And though Tennessee had schools and schoolmasters, it was he who became the first state-wide educational leader.

Qualifications of the Antiquarians

The objectives of the Society were what they were because of the type of men represented by the members. If one faces squarely the question as to their qualifications, much negative criticism can be avoided, such as the following statement by Professor Rusk:

> To the early settlers of the West, few of whom were in the slightest degree equipped for the study of ethnological problems, the remains of an aboriginal people and the presence of the Indian tribes, opened a field for antiquarian speculation and study that was by no means neglected.[28]

We take this to mean that the antiquarians were not scientists and that their contributions to science were of slight value. The Nashville group were neither scientists, historians, educators, nor literary men. Then what were they?

They were professional and business men. Considering only the twenty-two members who attended meetings, they may be listed accordingly:

Twelve were lawyers: Henry Crabb, later a judge of the superior court;[29] Leonard P. Cheatham;[30] Francis B. Fogg, a scholarly young arrival from Connecticut;[31] John Haywood; Sam Houston, already a hero and then actually a politician; John Overton, one of

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[26] W. H. Hoyt (ed.), *Papers of Archibald D. Murphey* (Raleigh, N. C., 1914), I, 330.
[27] In 1824; Troost arrived in 1828 (Rooker, *loc. cit.*, III, 3).
[28] Rusk, *op. cit.*, I, 239.
[29] W. W. Clayton, *History of Davidson County* (Philadelphia, 1880), 109.
[30] *Acts of the General Assembly of Tennessee*, 1817, Chapter 165.
[31] Clayton, *op. cit.*, 115.

the great landowners of the state; Patrick H. Darby; Alfred Balch;[32] Thomas Washington;[33] Oliver B. Hays;[34] Felix Grundy, lately honored with a full-length biography;[35] and William H. Brown.[36]

Two were ministers: Moses Shears, who was not a resident of Nashville, and William Hume.

Three were doctors: James Roane,[37] Ferdinand Stith[38] of Franklin, and James Overton,[39] all doctors of medicine, Stith and Overton from the University of Pennsylvania, Roane from an institute in New York.

Five were business men: John P. Erwin,[40] lawyer and business man; Wilkins Tannehill, cashier of the Nashville Bank and a leading member of the literati; Ira Ingram, possibly a partner in Ingram and Lloyd's Tennessee Bookstore; R. E. W. Earl, the painter; and William Carroll, in 1821 governor of the state.

This information adds significantly to our knowledge of the working methods of the West. The Literary Revival was carried on by laymen. They were laymen in that they had no special qualification for the task in hand. They were qualified in that they had a general education and broad interests, and comparatively few in number, they were to be found mostly in the traditional learned professions.

Several deductions follow as to the limitations of men of this type. Their accomplishments in any field were of small value and are to be judged on an amateur basis. This is true of everything the Society did. Also, these men were first of all professional men and only what time could be spared from their professional duties was devoted to other interests. As H. M. Brackenridge stated his own position, law was a "zealous mistress" and his antiquarian researches were often neglected.[41] Haywood, who had to attend court in every judicial district of the state, attended only about half the meetings of the Society. This condition also made for shoddy work. The head of the American Antiquarian Society found Caleb Atwater's manuscript typical of those he received on antiquities. "They were," he said, "originally the hurried productions of a professional man, constantly engaged in various branches of business; the first

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[32] Hoyt, *op. cit.*, I, 211.
[33] Clayton, *op. cit.*, 97.
[34] *Ibid.*, 97.
[35] J. H. Parks, *Felix Grundy, Champion of Democracy* (Baton Rouge, 1940).
[36] A. V. Goodpasture, "William Little Brown," *American Historical Magazine*, VII, 97-111.
[37] Clayton, *op. cit.*, 283; Nashville *Whig*, May 5, 1817.
[38] Nashville *Whig*, June 9, 1817.
[39] Clayton, *op. cit.*, 284.
[40] In 1823 editor of the *Whig*, and the best Nashville editor up to that date.
[41] Brackenridge, *op. cit.*, preface.

and only draughts were sent to the Society."[42] A western reviewer added that Atwater had changed his point of view in the course of the manuscript without taking the trouble to revise the earlier portions.[43]

The point is that such men carried the burden of the Literary Revival, and the character of their work is to be judged accordingly. They represented the best that society had to offer. In this connection they appear as many-sided men. Thus, while contributing his bit to the antiquarian movement, in which he was doubtlessly only mildly interested, Grundy, from his key position in the legislature, almost single-handedly secured some University of North Carolina land warrants for Tennessee colleges.[44] Thereby, he made possible the revival of Cumberland College as the University of Nashville. Tannehill, while earning a living as cashier of a bank, exerted himself to build a masonic lodge and then initiate a program to educate the lodge in the best principles of the order.[45] Haywood sponsored a charitable society.[46] As has already been suggested, they also helped to create a demand for better conditions. Lindsley's invitation to come to Nashville meant that much interest had been awakened in education, especially by William Hume's efforts within the Antiquarian Society.

The only alternative to this method of advancement was the acquistion of men with special talents. In a moderate way Earl was such a person. Others like him; or better, were to follow. But correcting the situation in this way was a historic process. For one thing the economy was not geared to support specialists. Public funds covered the bare necessities of government, not even allowing for internal improvements, and private funds were limited. Also, specialists had to be imported from the older states, where they could be educated.

The real state of society, and an understanding of the true contribution of men like the antiquarians, appears most strikingly from a glance at the standing of the three traditional learned professions. By the very nature of things they were the first to be established in a new country. Nashville could boast of the "lights of the bar" long before it had a newspaper editor of respectable talents. Yet the standards of the legal profession at this time were far below what they were when Josephus C. Guild wrote his *Old Times in Tennessee* (1878). A critical, yet constructive attitude toward the pro-

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[42] *Transactions of the American Antiquarian Society* (1820), 5.
[43] *Western Review*, III, 96.
[44] Hoyt, *op. cit.*, I, 250ff..
[45] John Frizzell, *Proceedings of the M. W. Grand Lodge, F. and A. M., of the State of Tennessee* (Nashville, 1873), 75-160, 206.
[46] Nashville *Whig*, September 8, 1823.

fession developed at this time. The object was to reestablish the profession on a higher level. Law was not alone. Medicine and religious denominations, lodges and schools were likewise in a state of ferment. So that in the Revival of Learning, a place must be made for work of this basic character.

Witness the efforts of the doctors to establish their profession. Their own public discussions show the great odds against which they worked.[47] Their ranks were divided, with quacks against regular doctors, and the quacks were in the saddle. The regular doctors were divided according to rival theories of the practice of medicine. Benjamin Rush had reestablished the practice of "bleeding," and his followers were known for bleeding and purging. On the other side were the "stimulators," said to be the followers of Erasmus Darwin, who were willing to rely more upon the healing powers of nature. Both schools were represented in Nashville.

In addition to the controversy over theories, the regular doctors of Nashville waged a campaign to regularize the professions. One means of redress was legal. They accordingly sought the formation of a "medical board" to license practitioners and through it to stiffen requirements.[48] Then they came forward with two concrete plans. One was to establish a hospital. A lottery was authorized to raise funds and widespread support was enlisted to make it succeed. The Thespian Society gave two benefit performances, in one of which the Thespians from Clarksville took part, and the occasion of turning over the receipts to the managers of the lottery was made a public ceremony.[49] But no local lottery succeeded during the period. Then they turned to education. Three local physicians along with William Hume gave a course of lectures on medical subjects. It will be remembered that apprenticeship was the usual means of learning the profession, supplemented wherever possible by residence at a medical college. The educational efforts on the part of the doctors were undoubtedly meant to lead farther. At the same time, the trustees of the college adopted the university plan for the institution, which allowed for the addition of colleges then most needed. Thus, it appears, the lectures were meant to lead to the establishment of a college of medicine.

The continuity of such efforts may be demonstrated. One of the lecturers was James Roane. Before coming to Nashville he had

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[47] Nashville *Whig*, January 5, 1818; Nashville *Republican*, December 26, 1825; J. T. Flexner, *Doctors on Horseback* (New York, 1937), 57-120; H. B. Shafer, *American Medical Professions, 1783 to 1850* (New York, 1936), 31, 96-97.

[48] Nashville *Whig*, October 20, 1824; Nashville *Republican*, October 15, November 26, 1825.

[49] Nashville *Republican*, August 6, 1825.

done precisely the same thing at Transylvania University, where private lectures grew into the medical department of the University. None of his efforts bore fruit during this period, but later he was the first president of the first state medical association in Tennessee. Another of the Nashville lecturers was James Overton. His concern over the standing of the profession likewise survived the early failures; he wrote a prize essay for the state medical association.[50] Both were members of the Antiquarian Society.

Thus, in considering the qualifications of the members of the Society, it has been seen that men of good will and some pretensions to general education were the scientists and historians of the period. Men of this kind were few in number; they were found mostly in the established professions, and it was they who, acting in the capacity of laymen, actually laid the foundations for scientific and literary study in the state and helped create a demand for better things.

End of the Society

The sudden abandonment of the Society is one of the minor mysteries in the history of the state. Judge Lea's explanation has not been satisfying. Thinking that its purpose was to aid Haywood, he assumed that after Haywood went to press the Society came to a natural end — after an existence of slightly over two years. He also took into consideration the ephemeral nature of such associations.

But the Society lasted longer than has been thought. The original plan was to hold three monthly meetings while getting under way and then to settle down into regular quarterly meetings unless the business justified called meetings. As it happened, the meetings were at extremely irregular intervals, although necessarily so if the professional activities of the members are borne in mind; and their exact number is not known, though this is no great loss. The Minutes, which are not necessarily complete, show eleven called and regular meetings, as follows: during the first year there were four meetings (July and October, 1820, and January and February, 1821); in the second year five (July, 1821, and two in January and two in February, 1822); in the third year two (July and August, 1822), with which the Minutes stopped. From other sources it is known that the Society entered its fourth year. A meeting was announced for July, 1823.[51] It was to be held at Earl's Museum and members were warned to be "prepared with their several communications." Although this sounds like a regular meeting, there had certainly been an interruption, for in June a newspaper contributor had asked "what the Nation" had become of the Society.[52]

[50] Clayton, *op. cit.*, 291-292; Robert Peter, *History of the Medical Department of Transylvania* (Louisville, 1905), 13, 18.

[51] Nashville *Whig*, July 7, 1823.

[52] *Ibid.*, June 4, 1823.

So far as is known, this July meeting, the time when officers were usually elected for the following year, was the last. Afterwards the question was often asked why the Society had been abandoned, and a feeling of disappointment was expressed.

Moreover, the Society came to an unnatural end. To understand this one must consider the paradoxical nature of the age. Although open to ideas, such as those represented by the Society, it proved inhospitable to them. The Era of Good Feeling, though not nearly so deadly as the period of the Federalists, saw the rise of bitter controversies. They ranged all the way from private differences to public issues; but in any event they were waged long and violently, and the contestants were wont to forget principles and resort to personalities. It was a case of neighbors being aligned against neighbors, without the benefit of a two-party system or a division according to principles on the issues of the day to break the sharpness of disagreements. The lodges reflected this symptom of the times. They often found it necessary to cite members for "unmasonic conduct," and in its efforts to establish ethical standards the order must be considered of fundamental usefulness.[53] That the Antiquarian Society would be immune to dissension does not stand to reason. Among the antiquarians were some of the most prominent men of the state, who would be involved automatically in public issues; and in deliberating on a critical subject like paper money, as they did, they were even inviting trouble. It was almost inevitable that personal and political strife would invade the quiet sanctuary of the Museum, where the Society held its meetings against a background of relics and mechanical inventions and paintings.

How the Society was affected will be demonstrated by one example, the fight between two of its members, Judge Haywood and Patrick H. Darby. It will be seen that through Haywood's ill-advised intrusion of the judiciary in the issue of the relief bank, he weakened his position in the fight with Darby over a land law, rendering himself vulnerable to Darby's personal, demagogic attack upon him as a judge. Darby also used Haywood's antiquarian activities against him. Out of the struggle came the Haywood tradition, which gave a distorted view of Haywood and lost sight of the antiquarians.

The Panic of 1819 was an early example of widespread failure in a land of plenty. It was particularly distressing in that it affected a large percentage of landholders in the state, who had only recently taken up their land and were making periodical payments on it. So many people were confronted with ruin that there was a clamor for

[53] For the case of Sam Houston, see Frizzell, *op. cit.*, 167.

legislative relief; and riding over the stubborn opposition of conservative elements, a popular legislature created a relief bank, which was to increase the circulating medium and enable debtors to discharge their obligations. The legislature then proceeded to enact a stay law whereby creditors who would not accept the paper money of the bank were barred from resorting to the courts. From the point of view of the judiciary, contracts had been invalidated, the state had become the "judge of its own honor and the keeper of its conscience," and the endorsement law was declared unconstitutional. Haywood's adverse ruling was brushed lightly aside and the legislature reaffirmed the endorsement law.[54] The situation was confusing. The common citizen was suspicious of special privileges, property interests were suspicious of a popular legislature, and the legislature and the common citizen were suspicious of the courts.

In involving the court, Haywood made a political blunder. The position of the judiciary in the state was far too uncertain at that time to stand the test Haywood put it to, and he chose to do this when the legislature was in a radical mood. It appeared that the judges would usurp the legislative function of government. In view of later events Haywood's action was ill-advised. In Kentucky a similar ruling gave rise to a decade-long fight between the old court, which was against relief, and a new court set up by the legislature to uphold its position.

Darby and Haywood came to grips over the reinterpretation of the statute of limitations.[55] It had been in the courts for a long period of time and as last interpreted, it provided that the title by which an occupant held land had to reach in an unbroken chain back to the original grant. Theoretically, the law was satisfactory, but with the confusion that had attended the entire matter of land claims, a perfect and undisputed title could rarely be produced. Hence, it was sought to remove estates from litigation by a reinterpretation of the law whereby "color of title" and seven years possession would give the occupant prior claim over regular "connection of title." Judge Haywood espoused this cause to the extent that the final interpretation was attributed to him. The magnitude of the issue may be seen from the statements of one of Haywood's colleagues who wrote about it a generation later, calling it one of the most "exacerbated controversies, perhaps, that ever grew out of a question which was purely judicial." The result of the decision, he said non-committally, was expected to be "most disastrous to some, most fortunate to others, and of very doubtful influence to the community at

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[54] Nashville *Whig*, *October* 6, 1823.

[55] T. P. Abernethy, *From Frontier to Plantation in Tennessee* (Chapel Hill, 1932), 264 ff.

large."[56]

Haywood probably had Darby in mind when he wrote philosophically in his *Political History*[57] of those "mosquitoes" who steadily kept the people misinformed and befuddled issues of public concern Even though both sides to the controversy had able and fair-minded champions, it happened that one element in Haywood's opposition possessed little dignity, namely those who had made a practice of buying up disputed titles and subjecting occupants to all the evils of litigation. Anyone whose title was thus contested was bound to lose; if he won the decision he would nevertheless be ruined by lawyers' fees. From all reports Darby was the chief offender.[58] The brother of the estimable geographer, this man had a talent for controversy. To further his interests, he bought a newspaper in Nashville and devoted long editorials to an exposure of the manipulations of his enemies. It is almost impossible to read his paper without feeling that he was shabbily treated. He was finally put down and left the state with indignation, but in the meantime he cut a wide swath.

The controversy was drawing to a close. In Knoxville, where the case of Wasson and Waterhouse *vs.* Martin and Others' Lessee was before the superior court in 1824, Darby made his last demonstration.[59] He came into court flourishing a pamphlet which he said would expose the judges. For this action he was disbarred. He then demanded readmission to the bar, making it appear that the court had usurped authority in striking his name from the roll. The charge of judicial usurpation was a weapon of the demagogue, and apart from the merits of the case, Darby used it effectively. Editors felt it necessary to publish the opinion of the court by which Darby was disbarred, and when belatedly one defender of the court appeared in the newspapers, his introductory remarks indicated strongly that Darby had gained a sympathetic audience.[60]

In the pamphlet Darby attacked Haywood the antiquarian. This he was in a position to do only too well, for he was a charter member of the Society and had attended the meetings. One excerpt will exhibit his method:

Judge Haywood was once a person of some genius; but it is wholly impossible, that a man who is capable of writing and publishing such books, could, at his soundest moments, have ever been a man of solid judgment. Even madmen, who have once been men of talents, have some lucid in-

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[56] Clayton, *op. cit.*, 104.

[57] Page 8.

[58] J. C. Guild, *Old Times in Tennessee* (Nashville, 1878), 73.

[59] The Knoxville *Register* (August 20, 1824), describes Darby as entering the court holding the pamphlet in his hand, "exulting in the deed and so far as he could republishing it before the court."

[60] Nashville *Whig*, August 9, 1824; Knoxville *Register*, August 27, 1824.

tervals; when their minds, like the Sun in a cloudy day, will now and then burst forth, and shine with splendid radiance! As for his, it is not hid, but extinguished. Whatever his judgment may have been, it is certainly now no more. He has written about "ghosts," and "petrifactions," and searched for "antiquities," and sophisticated away his reason, to prove the genealogical descent of the inhabitants of America, to be from Asia, until it would seem, that he brought his mind to the belief, that he is, himself, descended, in the right line, from either Moses or Mahomet! that he is about to usher in the millenium! that oaths, constitutions, legislative authorities, and even the opinions of other judges, are nothing to him, and even beneath his notice. And that he has a prescriptive right, from his Asiatic ancestor, to *make law* by decisions, which the rest of mankind are bound to obey.[61]

In a word, Darby was much provoked to be put down by such a man — "A fool; a wretch; a madman!!!" Haywood won the case, but Darby's invective stuck. The passage just quoted, if expressed in polite terms, is a paraphrase of the Haywood tradition. By 1844 the tradition was fully established. In an article by one of Haywood's colleagues, which was quoted and accordingly perpetuated by Clayton, the *Christian Advocate* was looked upon as "a work *sui generis*." The *Aboriginal History* was thought of as a treatise on "earthquakes, dreams, ghosts, meteors, bones of giants and pigmies; caves and strange supernatural voices which were heard in the air; and portents and signs and wonders." And of Haywood the jurist it was said that "his judgment was too much under the dominion of the imaginative faculty, which gave to some of his opinions too great an air of eccentricity and uncertainty," just as Darby had insinuated.[62] Even Tannehill,[63] who should have acted more independently, passed on the tradition, and Colyar,[64] though he made a praiseworthy effort to treat Haywood sympathetically, did the same. Such a view had no basis in fact but it came into being in a natural way. As time passed and conditions changed, the motives which had brought the Society together were forgotten, and it was remembered as something with which Haywood was connected. The antiquarian conventions in which Haywood wrote were soon outmoded and Haywood was thought of as an example of what not to do.

Judging from what historians had to say about Haywood the antiquarian, one may well wonder whether this was not a fitting subject for humorists. As a matter of fact, the tradition was founded

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[61] P. H. Darby, *The Opinions of Judges Haywood and Peck, of the Supreme Court of Errors and Appeals in the case of R. G. Waterhouse vs. Martin and others, Lessee, Delivered at Knoxville May Term, 1824, with a Commentary by Patrick H. Darby, one of the Counsel for the Defendent* (Knoxville, 1824), 58.

[62] Clayton, *op. cit.*, 102, ff.

[63] *Portfolio; or, Journal of Freemasonry and General Literature,* II (1848), 176 ff.

[64] A. S. Colyar, "Sketch of the Author," in Haywood's *Political History,* reprinted in 1891.

on humor — humorists began where the politicians left off — and it may be seen in the making. Humor flourished during Haywood's time.[65] There was, for example, a full cycle of humorous writings on western scientists, including the Nashville group. Further, humorous writing was one method of advancing the Literary Revival. But the constructive attitude of these writers did not necessarily appear on the surface. In their treatment a touch of gall was retained from the party battles of the preceding period. Satire and amusement and constructive comment were mingled, with satire sometimes uppermost. In this light the following humorous treatment of the antiquarians is to be read:

> To be, or not to be, is the first question.
>
> Is the *Tennessee Antiquarian Society* dead, or not, is the second question.
>
> 3. Strong apprehensions are entertained that this august and most valuable association of talents has at last become extinct.
>
> 4th. Our worthy President is said to have died of too much research.
>
> 5th. The corresponding secretary wrote one letter to the renowned Dr. Mitchell, and received one in return — this to a modest man was sufficient to finish him.
>
> 6th. The recording secretary, it is tho't made his exit of a lock-jaw, in registering the President's elaborate description of a *petrified Sea-Turtle,* discovered by a certain honorable gentleman of Alabama . . .
>
> Thus has ended the wisdom of our state, with a *question.*
>
> "O! Huncamunka, Huncamaunka, O!"[66]

It goes without saying that the writer had been associated intimately with the antiquarians; all his "questions" were based upon fact, excepting the fiction that the members were dead. In the light of the tradition of his style of writing, his attitude may be expressed as follows: he supports the scientific ambitions of westerners, he regrets the fate of the Nashville group, and at the same time he is amused. Now, the infant institutions of the West could not sustain the heavy hand of such writers, and it is interesting to note that, just as if this were another problem of the age, satire was by mutual consent abandoned in favor of a more humane style of writing.

The times encouraged humor of another sort, a popular, oral variety which did not get into print. Lawyers away from home idling away the hours after court adjourned, doctors on horseback visiting their far-flung patients, and politicians on a stump-speaking tour turned raconteurs. It is not to be supposed that they confined themselves to facts and related an experience in its original seriousness. A humorous situation was the thing, and in this respect Haywood served them well. Even in print the writer of "O Hunca-

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[65] Walter Blair, *Native American Humor, 1800-1900* (New York, 1937), Introduction.

[66] Nashville *Republican,* August 7, 1824. For a similar composition, see the Knoxville *Register,* December 10, 1825.

munka" was amused at Haywood trying to fit a petrified sea-turtle into his cosmology. Haywood's physical appearance marked him for humorous treatment. A man of tremendous girth, his head was shaped like a cone, and he wore Franklin spectacles. But the favorite anecdote about Haywood concerned John Raines, James Robertson's famous scout who in his latter days did not live according to the herioc model.[67] As related by Haywood, Rains was on his way home late one Saturday night when he encountered the apparitions of some of his old friends who had long been dead. To Haywood this was an example of animal magnetism, or spiritual agency, and the apparations had appeared as a means of warning Rains against the evil nature of his ways. But the humorists knew that Rains saw ghosts because he was drunk. Serious Tannehill could not resist this story.

To conclude, the origin, the objectives, and the end of the Antiquarian Society, and the qualifications of its members have been given in detail. At the same time through this one well-documented society a view has been provided of the aims and working methods of a unique period in western history.

[67] *Christian Advocate*, Chapter III, "Of the Soul."

DEMOCRATIC POLITICS AND THE PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN OF 1912 IN TENNESSEE[1]

By Arthur S. Link

"If an exact account should be written of important events in this State during the past year, no novel of the season could compare with it in sensational features," wrote a Nashville woman during the early spring of 1909. "The one element lacking," she added, "is erotic decadence."[2] Even if one makes a charitable allowance of literary license to our Nashville observer, the fact remains that the Democratic party in Tennessee during the years from 1908-1912 was the victim of nearly every imaginable political hysteria. "To the outside world," commented an influential political journal, "Tennessee doubtless seems a State gone mad."[3] Families and churches were disrupted by political disagreements; to a degree business and social life was disorganized; and certainly it was evident to political observers outside the state that government had become a mockery, while the executive, legislature, and judiciary had, on one occasion or another, been prostituted to the vagaries of partisan politics.

So complex and manifold were the causes for the chaotic state of Democratic politics in Tennessee during the period 1908-1912 that the historian is hard put to it to unravel the tangled web of confused issues and bitter personal controversies, or to distinguish among them. Basically the chief bone of contention was the prohibition issue; it was upon this rock that the Democratic party foundered in 1910 and 1912. Prohibition sentiment in Tennessee antedates the Civil War, but it was not until the early 1870's that any really organized anti-whiskey movement got under way. In 1887 a proposed state-wide prohibition amendment to the constitution was decisively defeated at the polls; but the large vote cast in favor of the amendment (117,504 for; 145,234 against)[4] was an early indication of the widespread anti-liquor sentiment. In 1899 the legislature enacted a local option law for towns of less than 2,000 popula-

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[1] Research on this article was financed by grants from the Julius Rosenwald Fund.

[2] Mrs. L. H. Harris, "The Willipus-Wallipus in Tennessee Politics," *Independent*, LXVI (March 25, 1909), 622.

[3] "Political Hysteria in Tennessee," *ibid.*, LXIX (September 22, 1910), 663.

[4] William H. Combs and William E. Cole, *Tennessee: A Political Study* (Knoxville, 1940), 40.

tion, and by subsequent amendments the law was extended to all cities and towns in the state by 1907. In the meantime the prohibition crusaders, chief among whom were such powerful organizations as the Women's Christian Temperance Union, the Anti-Saloon League, and the evangelical churches, had been assiduously at work. By 1908 only Nashville, Memphis, Chattanooga, and La Follette were outside the prohibition pale.[5]

State-wide prohibition was the leading, in fact, about the only issue in the Democratic gubernatorial contest in 1908, when former Senator Edward W. Carmack attempted to defeat Governor Malcolm R. Patterson for renomination. Patterson was a resourceful foe of state-wide prohibition and an advocate of local option; he was conservative on economic issues and — compared with Carmack — had a colorless personality. His political strength lay in the support he received from the powerful Democratic city machines, the liquor interests, and the bulk of the Negro voters, whose good will he assiduously cultivated.

Few politicians in the history of Tennessee have had as stormy a career, or so commanded the devotion of a large following of voters as Edward Ward Carmack. Born in 1858, the son of a Campbellite minister, Carmack was educated at the Webb School, afterwards read law, and entered the state legislature in 1884. As editor of the *Nashville American* from 1888 to 1892 and the Memphis *Commercial Appeal* from 1892 to 1896, he fought throughout for prohibition, free silver, and Bryan; and he resigned from the editorship of the *Commercial Appeal* during the campaign of 1896 because of a disagreement with the "Gold Democratic" owners of the newspaper.[6] In 1896 he was elected to Congress on a free silver ticket from Memphis, and was reelected for a second term in 1898. In 1901 he was elected to the United States Senate, where he served until 1907, when he was defeated for reelection by former Governor Robert L. Taylor.

The Democratic gubernatorial nomination contest of 1908 was bitterly fought between Carmack and Patterson. Carmack of course had the support of the church groups, the prohibitionists, and the progressive Bryan Democrats; Patterson was the candidate of the state machine, the anti-prohibitionists, the liquor interests, and conservatives in general. The result was one of the most memorable campaigns in the history of Tennessee. The Democratic party was split wide open on the liquor question and Patterson defeated his

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[5] Philip M. Hamer, *Tennessee, A History, 1673-1932* (New York, 1933), 4 vols., II, 704.

[6] Kenneth McKellar, *Tennessee Senators as Seen by One of Their Successors* (Kingsport, Tenn., 1942), 464-465.

rival by a majority of some seven thousand votes.[7]

Shortly after his defeat in the primary contest, Carmack became editor of the *Nashville Tennessean*, which Luke Lea, an enterprising and ambitious young man of Nashville had recently established. Throughout the summer and fall of 1908 Carmack carried on a veritable crusade for prohibition in the editorial columns of the *Tennessean*. He also carried his fight to the Democratic state convention. In the determination of disputed elections, many of his followers were unseated, and he failed to secure approval of a prohibition platform commitment. But he did succeed in helping to nominate and elect a legislature, a majority of the members of which were pledged to vote for a state-wide prohibition law.

During Carmack's editorial campaign against Patterson, he took occasion to ridicule one of Patterson's chief political advisers, Duncan B. Cooper.[8] On the day the editorial was published, November 9, 1908, Carmack met Cooper and his son Robin on one of Nashville's main streets; gun play resulted in which the Coopers shot and killed Carmack and Robin Cooper was wounded. Thus ended the career of one of Tennessee's most turbulent figures. After a prolonged trial the Coopers were convicted of murder and were sentenced to twenty years in prison. The state supreme court upheld Duncan B. Cooper's conviction and ordered that his son's case be remanded for retrial, whereupon Patterson, on April 13, 1910, promptly pardoned the older man.

For a time after his death Edward W. Carmack was a more powerful factor in Tennessee politics in death than he had ever been in life. He was immediately canonized as the martyr of the prohibition cause by the church and prohibition press, and the political character of his assassination gave the prohibition movement exactly the impetus that it needed for successful achievement. The legislature in January, 1909, passed the prohibition law that was a memorial to Carmack's name and, when Patterson promptly vetoed it, just as promptly passed the measure over the Governor's veto. Officially, at least, Tennessee became "dry" on July 1, 1909.[9]

In the meantime, the prohibition Democrats had organized their faction into the so-called Independent Democratic party, of which Richard M. Barton of Memphis was the chairman and Luke Lea of the *Nashville Tennessean* (soon to become the *Nashville Tennessean and American*), and E. B. Stahlman of the *Nashville Banner* were the chief editorial spokesmen. The Independents carried their

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[7] *Ibid.*, 474-475; William L. Frierson, "Edward Ward Carmack," *Dictionary of American Biography* (New York, 1928-1944), 21 vols., III, 496-497.

[8] *Nashville Tennessean*, November 9, 1908.

[9] Hamer, *Tennessee, a History*, II, 705.

fight into the judicial election during the summer of 1910 and, with the support of the Republicans who nominated no candidates, succeeded in defeating the regular Democratic nominees. The judicial campaign was just as bitterly contested as the gubernatorial campaign of 1908 had been; and Governor Patterson, who had entered the fight, now suffered his second serious defeat at the hands of the Independents. The prohibition Democrats refused to participate in the regular Democratic convention, which renominated Patterson for the governorship, and held a state convention of their own in Nashville on September 14. As a sort of last-ditch effort at reconciliation, Patterson withdrew from the gubernatorial contest three days before the Independent convention; but the Independents were by now in no mood for compromise and endorsed the Republican candidate, Ben W. Hooper, an outspoken advocate of prohibition enforcement and a leading "dry."[10]

It was one of the most amazing political conventions in the history of Tennessee, this meeting of the Independent Democrats, and the similarities between it and the national Progressive convention at Chicago in August, 1912, are striking. For there was, first of all, an almost perfect union of political and religious fervor on both occasions. "The impression upon a comparative stranger," wrote one astonished onlooker at the Nashville convention, "was that it was a great company (there were some 1,500 delegates) of three or four thousand men filled with deep earnestness, which was of high moral quality . . . . The atmosphere was heavy with aroused spirit of righteous indignation."[11] In the second place, both the Tennessee Independents and the Roosevelt insurgents were revolting against what they conceived to be machine, reactionary control of their respective parties.

The efforts of the Regulars to save their party from disruption and defeat were utterly fruitless. The regular Democratic state committee also resigned and a new convention met on October 6 and elected a new state committee, and nominated Robert L. Taylor for governor. But even Taylor, who had for years been the idol of the Democratic masses and a great conciliator, could neither win the election nor draw the warring factions together. The Independents stayed outside the party and elected Hooper governor; it was the first Republican administration in Tennessee since 1880.

Lea's newspaper, in its analysis of the election returns, declared:

> The Democrats of Tennessee elected Hooper not because of, but despite, the fact that he is a Republican. They elected him as the only way left

[10] George A. Gates, "Democratic Insurgency in Tennessee," *Independent*, LXIX (October 20, 1910), 866-867.

[11] *Ibid.*, 868.

open for them to destroy a corrupt political machine and to drive from power those men who have taken over the Democratic organization as a personal asset for their own base uses and defiled and despoiled the public service.

In making a fight for the destruction of the corrupt political machine the loyal and patriotic Democrats here in Tennessee have in no way impaired the National Democracy, for while they were purging the party of Pattersonism, they gave the full measure of the strength to the Democratic candidates for Congress, returning to the national house the eight Democratic members.[12]

Hooper's victory, the Independents declared, and the election of an anti-Patterson legislature marked a new turn of affairs in Tennessee history. The Patterson machine had been dealt a heavy blow, it is true, but it is doubtful that its power had been utterly destroyed as the Independents imagined. Certainly it was true that the Independent revolt had been an uprising of the progressive elements in the state Democratic party against ring rule, domination of the party by the liquor interests, and venality in the public service. It was in every respect a reflection of a general progressive revolt against the old order of things that was convulsing the South and the nation at the time. Needless to say, the ghost of Edward W. Carmack must have enjoyed the election post-mortems that filled the Tennessee newspapers on November 10, 1910.

Without an understanding of the causes for, and events leading to the disruption of the party in Tennessee in 1910, it would be impossible to comprehend the alignment of the Democratic factions in the presidential pre-convention campaign that followed during the next eighteen months.

On the same first Tuesday after the first Monday in November in 1910 when Ben Hooper rode easily to victory over Bob Taylor, a new political figure rose to prominence in the East. He was Woodrow Wilson, late president of Princeton University, who had left the University to accept the Democratic gubernatorial nomination at the hands of James Smith, Jr., and Robert Davis, bosses of Newark and Jersey City, respectively. Wilson had begun his campaign timidly because he thought he was a conservative but really was not sure of his political opinions; yet the impelling force of circumstances and the obviously corrupt domination of his party by a political ring forced him quickly to change his mind with regard to the leading issues. Before the campaign ended, he emphatically endorsed a sweeping reform program and repudiated publicly the very bosses who had gone to considerable effort to nominate him. All of which won him the support of the independent voters, most of whom were nominally Republicans, and the governorship of New Jersey by the

[12] *Nashville Tennessean and American,* November 10, 1910. There were, at this time, ten congressmen from Tennessee, two of whom were usually Republicans.

thumping majority of some 50,000 votes. And that, in a state which only two years before had given the Republican presidential candidate an 80,000 majority, was an accomplishment that made political observers sit up and take notice.[13]

In many respects it might be said that the congressional and gubernatorial elections of November, 1910, resulted in the creation of a new Democratic party in the country at large. In the first place, the Democratic landslide signalled the end of Bryan's domination of the party and brought to the fore a new group of Democratic leaders within the states and in Congress: Woodrow Wilson, whose victory in New Jersey was perhaps the most spectacular of all; Judson Harmon, elected governor of Ohio for the second time by a tremendous majority; Champ Clark of Missouri, the next speaker of the House of Representatives; and Oscar W. Underwood of Alabama, the ranking Democratic member of the House Ways and Means Committee and the leading proponent of tariff reduction and reform. Bryan, actually, had bolted the Democratic ticket in Nebraska; his power and influence in party councils would decline precipitously during the pre-convention campaign. In the second place, the Democratic victory brought to the forefront a new set of issues, preeminent among which was tariff reform, and laid to rest, at least temporarily, Bryan's favorite issues of free silver, anti-imperialism, and government ownership of the railroads (which he had broached in 1908).

Before the 1910 campaign had ended it was obvious also that Wilson would have the support of progressive Democrats for the presidential nomination in 1912. It was a tentative offer of support that they made, to be sure, predicated upon Wilson's successful administration of the governorship; but it was plain by election day that progressives preferred him to Judson Harmon, the conservative, respectable governor of Ohio. Throughout the southern states, where the Democratic party was divided into conservative and progressive factions that to all intents and purposes constituted separate parties in political contests, the progressive Democratic leaders looked to Wilson to provide a new liberal leadership for the party, devoid of the stigma of Bryanism, yet squarely advanced on the issues.[14] As

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[13] All material in this article relating to Wilson is taken from my forthcoming book, *Woodrow Wilson, the Road to the White House*, to be published by the Princeton University Press.

[14] For a general treatment of the reaction of southern progressives to Wilson's rise to political power, see my "The South and the Democratic Campaign of 1910-1912" (unpublished Ph. D. dissertation in the Library of the University of North Carolina), *passim*; for specific treatments, see my "The Wilson Movement in Texas, 1910-1912," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, XLVIII (October, 1944), 170-171; also my "The Democratic Pre-Convention Campaign of 1912 in Georgia," *Georgia Historical Quarterly*, XXIX (September, 1945), 143-146.

the *Nashville Tennessean and American* put it, "The anti-machine Democrats in Tennessee who aided in the election of Ben W. Hooper on a Democratic platform would have voted for that splendid type of leadership, Woodrow Wilson, in New Jersey."[15]

The reaction of the Democratic press in Tennessee to Wilson's entrance upon the political stage was typical of the remarks of pleasant surprise and enthusiastic comment one finds in most southern newspapers of the time. To begin with, Wilson was practically without a political past, and because of the general nature of his campaign appeals, southern observers saw him as both a progressive and a conservative — depending upon the point of view. The militantly progressive *Nashville Tennessean and American,*[16] for example, was elated by Wilson's victory in New Jersey and immediately began to boom him for the presidency. "It was a happy day," it declared, "when the scholar arrived in politics."[17] On the other hand, the conservative prohibitionist *Nashville Banner* and the conservative regular Democratic *Chattanooga Daily Times* were just as enthusiastic. Wilson, declared the *Banner,* was "the type of man whose success in the political field promises a return to the statesmanship of the old days,"[18] and the *Daily Times* confidently predicted that Wilson's wise, patriotic, and "conservatively radical" administration in New Jersey would win the support of an overwhelming majority of Democrats in the presidential nomination campaign.[19]

Events that followed in the course of Wilson's career in New Jersey from December, 1910, through April, 1911, moved so rapidly and were so spectacular in character that they must have left the average observer in Tennessee gasping for breath. When Boss James Smith attempted to win the senatorship in New Jersey (during December, 1910, and January, 1911), Wilson led the progressive revolt that succeeded in smashing Smith's senatorial ambitions and was largely responsible for the election of James E. Martine, who had been endorsed at a rump party primary. Actually the fight in New Jersey developed into a struggle for control of the Democratic party, and Wilson's success in breaking the hold of the Smith machine over the state party was his most significant accomplishment. To Tennessee Democrats who followed the controversy day by day in the

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[15] *Nashville Tennessean and American,* November 10, 1910.

[16] The *Tennessean and American* was easily the leading progressive newspaper in the state; it was also the chief Bryan spokesman among Tennessee Democrats. See *ibid.,* December 20, 21, 1910, and February 12, 1911 for discussions of the direct election of senators, the initiative and referendum, and the recall; see especially the editorial of December 19, 1910, "The Democratic Party Must Be Progressive," for a discussion of the general issues.

[17] *Ibid.,* November 21, 1910.

[18] *Nashville Banner,* November 9, 1910.

[19] *Chattanooga Daily Times,* November 10 and 13, 1910.

newspapers, Wilson appeared as the defender of popular rights, political faith, and good government.[20] The senatorial controversy was really of profound importance in shaping the future course of Wilson's political career and of the Wilson presidential movement, for he was immediately thrust forward as the foremost Democratic progressive champion. "It requires the unselfish devotion to principle and the splendid powers of such men as Dr. Wilson," declared one Tennessee editor, "to wrest the reins of government from the hands of men who would prostitute it to the base service of greedy and corrupt interests." [21] The *Chattanooga Daily Times* observed that Wilson was revealing the "fearless and sterling qualities for large leadership that impress most emphatically his fitness for the leadership of the party in the nation."[22] The *Tennessean and American,* always anxious to lambast the Patterson machine, sought to point the moral and adorn the tale by comparing the political situations in New Jersey and Tennessee:

> The similarity of the conflicting forces in New Jersey and in Tennessee is so marked, and Dr. Wilson's position is so clearly and distinctly on the side of the people as against ring rule, official venality, force and fraud, that we need no committee to tell us where he would stand if he were in Tennessee. He would be fighting the James Smiths who have sought and are now seeking to convert both parties into servile and slavish agencies of greedy interests. He would be fighting those men who are serving insolent political machines instead of the great political parties.[23]

No sooner had Wilson won his victory over Smith than he set about to redeem his party's platform by securing the enactment by an unwilling legislature of a reform program which included a sweeping primary election law, a new public utilities commission empowered to set rates, a workmen's compensation law, and a stringent corrupt practices act,[24] as well as a number of other minor reform laws. The significance of Wilson's reform administration, coming so close upon his victory in the senatorial controversy, can best be understood when it is realized that it inevitably made him the leading and apparently the strongest contender for the Democratic presidential nomination. By the time the New Jersey legislature convened, Wilson had priority on the front pages of almost every Democratic newspaper in Tennessee. Tennessee Democrats ap-

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[20] There was full reporting of the controversy in the Tennessee press. For typical editorial comments, see *Nashville Banner,* December 13 and 21, 1910, January 25, 1911; *Chattanooga Daily Times,* December 10, 1910, January 25, 1911; *Nashville Tennessean and American,* January 8 and 26, 1911; Knoxville *Journal and Tribune,* December 17, 1910, January 27, 1911.

[21] *Nashville Tennessean and American,* January 8, 1911.

[22] *Chattanooga Daily Times,* December 10, 1910.

[23] *Nashville Tennessean and American,* January 8, 1911.

[24] *Acts of the One Hundred and Thirty-Fifth Legislature of the State of New Jersey, Session of 1911* (Trenton, 1911), Chapter 183, pp. 276-325; Chapter 195, pp. 374-389; Chapter 96, pp. 134-145; Chapter 188, pp. 329-349.

plauded when Wilson almost literally kicked an obnoxious Democratic boss out of his office;[25] they followed his earnest appeals to the legislators for the redemption of party pledges; and they congatulated themselves when he succeeded in securing the enactment of all of his reform program. "He absolutely refuses to be guaged by the measure of ordinary politics," declared the leading Chattanewspaper. " . . . If we do not take such a man we will be the losers not he." [26] The *Nashville Banner* gave what was probably the most accurate summary of Democratic opinion in the state in the spring of 1911, at a time when Wilson's pre-convention popularity was at its peak:

> No man in the late years of American politics has come more suddenly into national view or made a stronger impression on the American public than this erstwhile college president. His coming into public life has been unique, but even if he lacked experience in what has been called practical politics, he has given full proof that he did not lack study and knowledge of such matters. He has proved himself more than a match for the practical politicians with whom he has had to cope. He has succeeded in all he has undertaken, and he has undertaken things from which most governors shrink as being no part of their official duty and unnecessarily complicating their chances in politics . . . .
>
> The thoroughly educated man, free from any objectionable influences, one of clear common sense and strong character, is the ideal man in American public life and Woodrow Wilson approaches that ideal nearer than any man now prominent in the country's politics.[27]

During the early part of May, 1911, Wilson embarked upon a speaking tour of the West, during the course of which he made over thirty speeches in seven states. It was in effect his first important bid for the Democratic nomination in 1912, and he used his western audiences as sounding boards for his campaign appeals. Actually he said nothing new or startling, except that he believed in Christianity and in popular government — in the initiative, referendum, and recall (except the recall of judges), commission city government, and the like[28] — but he said enough to frighten fearful conservatives into believing that he was well on the way to becoming another Bryan.[29] Practically all the Democratic newspapers in Tennessee published Wilson's most important western addresses, and

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[25] See *i. e., Chattanooga Daily Times,* March 26, 1911.

[26] *Ibid.,* May 28, 1911.

[27] *Nashville Banner,* April 25, 1911.

[28] For Wilson's western speeches see the *Kansas City Journal,* May 6, 1911; *Kansas City Times,* May 6, 1911; Denver *Rocky Mountain News,* May 8, 10, 1911; *Los Angeles Times,* May 14, 1911;*Pasadena Star,* May 13, 1911; *San Francisco Bulletin,* May 16, 1911; *San Francisco Chronicle,* May 17, 1911;Portland *Oregon Daily Journal,* May 19-20, 1911; *Portland Evening Telegram,* May 19, 1911; *Seattle Times,* May 21, 1911;*St. Paul Pioneer Press,* May 25, 1911; Lincoln *Nebraska State Journal,* May 27, 1911.

[29] See *i. e.,* New York *Sun,* May 13, 1911.

for the first time Democrats in the state could see what stand he took on national issues. Editorial reaction in Tennessee, on the whole, was overwhelmingly favorable to Wilson's new progressive departure. "Gov. Wilson is touching a responsive chord when he points out the prevailing evils and calls for their correction," commented the *Nashville Tennessean and American*. "He is representing the great progressive movement, not of one party, but of all parties. He is reflecting the views of the mass of American people."[30] Conservative editors, on the other hand, were pleased by the absence of demagoguery in Wilson's appeal and the sober temper and rationality of his speeches. They compared him to Bryan and observed that the Commoner suffered by the comparison.[31]

Interest in the course of the Wilson campaign did not, however, overshadow or diminish the struggle between the Independents and regular Democrats that was in progress in Tennessee during 1911. The legislature of that year was about as turbulent as any, and the two factions were, if anything, farther apart than they had been a year before. The Independents and Republicans in the legislature united into a solid bloc to prevent any weakening of the prohibition laws. This the Fusionists — as they were called — succeeded in doing; after a bitter and protracted struggle, they also elected Luke Lea, the prohibitionist leader upon whom Carmack's mantle had fallen, to the United States Senate.

While it was true that the prohibitionists had written their moral opinions into the Tennessee statutes in 1909, they had not come anywhere near assaulting the remaining strongholds (as they thought) of wickedness and sin — the cities of Memphis, Chattanooga, and Nashville, where the prohibition laws were openly flouted both by the saloon-keepers and the municipal authorities. Especially notorious was Nashville, where Mayor Hilary E. Howse made no effort to conceal his contempt for prohibitionists and their laws. In July, 1911, the *Nashville Banner* began a campaign to drive Howse from power in the municipal election in the fall. It charged that Howse's refusal to enforce the liquor laws was responsible for the rapid growth of liquor dens, gambling dives, and houses of prostitution; that the underworld and the city administration were working hand in glove; that there was no doubt that Howse was protecting the lawless elements in the city.[32] The presidents of twelve colleges and seminaries in Nashville, led by Chancellor James H. Kirkland of Vanderbilt University, entered their emphatic

[30] *Nashville Tennessean and American*, May 9, 1911.
[31] *Chattanooga Daily Times*, May 21, 1911.
[32] *Nashville Banner*, September 30, 1911.

protest against "The conditions of lawlessness and vice . . . unparalleled in the history of Nashville."[33] The Baptist ministers of the city, a week later, published a fervent appeal for a clean sweep,[34] but the struggle to dislodge the boss was unsuccessful; Howse was triumphantly reelected and was mayor of Nashville six months hence when he led the fight against Woodrow Wilson.

The organization in Tennessee of the movement to make Wilson the Democratic presidential nominee in 1912 followed a pattern typical of the movements in most other states. First came the spontaneous organization of Wilson-for-President clubs, such as the club organized at Columbia, Tennessee, in September, 1911.[35] The beginnings of the organized Wilson movement in the state, however, were auspicious and altogether encouraging to the New Jersey governor's friends. A group of Democrats gathered at the Maxwell House in Nashville on October 14, formed a preliminary state organization headed by five men strategically selected from four of the cities in the state, and sounded a call to the Wilson followers in Tennessee to take the lead in organizing Wilson clubs in their communities.[36] In the organization of the campaign which followed as a result of the Nashville conference, University of Virginia and Princeton alumni played a prominent role. Lewis M. Coleman, Wilson's fellow-student at Virginia, for example, led in organizing the Hamilton County Wilson Club in Chattanooga in November.[37] Robert F. Fisher, prominent Memphis attorney and Princeton alumnus, joined with Judge R. M. Barton and David Fentress to initiate a Wilson organization in Memphis.[38] The Reverend Doctor Josiah Sibley and D. C. Webb organized a group of Wilson enthusiasts in Knoxville in November.[39] After this flurry of activity, the organization of Wilson clubs came to an end with the formation of a club in Nashville in January, 1912.[40]

At the outset of the movement the Wilson leaders made an assiduous effort to disassociate their cause from the internal political squabbles that had disrupted the Democratic party in Tennessee. One is reminded of an identical situation in Texas, where

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[33] *Ibid.*

[34] *Ibid.*, October 4, 1911.

[35] *Atlanta Georgian,* September 8, 1911.

[36] Judge John E. Richardson of Murfreesboro was chairman of the state organization. The other members of the exceutive committee were William L. Talley and Judge Robert Ewing of Nashville, Judge R. M. Barton of Memphis, and Lewis M. Coleman of Chattanooga. *Nashville Banner,* October 14, 1911; *Chattanooga Daily Times,* October 15, 1911.

[37] T. S. McCallie of the McCallie School was also a leader in the Chattanooga organization. *Chattanooga Daily Times,* November 7, 1911.

[38] *Nashville Banner,* December 2, 1911.

[39] *Chattanooga Daily Times,* November 10, 1911.

[40] *Wilmington* (N. C.) *Morning Star,* January 7, 1912.

the Wilson leaders, who were generally prohibitionists and progressives and opponents of Senator Joseph W. Bailey, protested that the Wilson movement was above factional quarrels. This simply was not true — either in Texas or Tennessee, or in any other state in the union, where the opposing Democratic factions invariably lined up behind different candidates. Actually the Independent-prohibitionist character of the Wilson movement in Tennessee was evident from the very outset. With a few exceptions, all of the Wilson leaders were prominent Independents; the leading Independent and prohibitionist newspapers in the state—the *Nashville Tennessean and American,* the *Nashville Banner,* and the *Knoxville Sentinel,* to mention only the leaders — were the leading Wilson journals.[41] In the rural counties, where the prohibition sentiment was strongest, thirty-five out of fifty-four newspapers supported the Wilson cause.[42]

Under these circumstances the regular Democrats did what they would probably have done had there been no split in the Tennessee Democratic ranks — they came out solidly against Wilson and supported either Harmon, Underwood, or Clark. Even the *Chattanooga Times,* which had been the most enthusiastic supporter of Wilson's candidacy in the state, turned its back on the New Jersey man. It declared in February, 1912 that Democrats were suspicious of any movement led and fostered by the Independents,[43] and by April was declaring that Wilson was "laboring under an erratic obsession" in his campaign appeals.[44] The Harmon, Underwood, and Clark supporters came largely from the ranks of the Regulars. Harmon, who spoke in Knoxville and Nashville during the campaign,[45] made a desultory campaign and had the support of the conservative Memphis *Commercial Appeal.*[46] Underwood's campaign in Tennessee was managed by none other than the notorious mayor of Nashville, Hilary E. Howse, and H. H. Mayberry of Franklin.[47] It made little headway among the people. Senator Bob Taylor set out in the fall of 1911 to lead the Clark forces and to secure Tennessee's votes in the national convention for the Speaker, but he, too, worked largely among the politicians and made no popular campaign.

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[41] Other Tennessee Wilson newspapers were the *Tipton Record, Pulaski Citizen, Lawrence Democrat, Manchester Times, Morristown Gazette,* and *Lewisburg Tribune.*

[42] Columbia (S. C.) *State,* February 21, 1912

[43] *Chattanooga Daily Times,* February 28, 1912.

[44] *Ibid.,* April 21, 1912.

[45] At Knoxville on September 16, 1911; at Nashville on April 9, 1912. See Knoxville *Journal and Tribune,* September 16-17, 1911; *Nashville Banner,* April 9-10, 1912.

[46] For a leading editorial see Memphis *Commercial Appeal,* March 7, 1912.

[47] *Nashville Tennessean and American,* February 5, 1912; *Chattanooga Daily Times,* February 7, 1912; *Atlanta Constitution,* March 20, 1912.

After all, the situation in the Democratic party was such as to dampen the ardor of the most enthusiastic promoters of presidential candidates. What constituted the Democratic party — the Regular or the Independent faction? What if the Independents carried out their threat to hold a separate state convention, nominate their own delegates, and carry the fight to the floor of the national convention itself? How best could the two factions be brought together again, even temporarily, for the purpose of selecting the delegates? All these questions were infinitely more important than the question of whom Tennessee should support at the Baltimore convention and consequently so subordinated the national campaign to the considerations of local politics that for a time it appeared that no one really cared whom Tennessee supported.

Such was the chaos of Tennessee Democratic politics when Woodrow Wilson came to Nashville in February, 1812, to speak at the dedication of a new Young Men's Christian Association and, incidentally, to do a little campaigning on the side. Wilson's unknown brother, Joseph R. Wilson, city editor of the *Nashville Banner,* was among the group of Nashville citizens who greeted him on his arrival in the city on February 24.[48]

During the afternoon two hundred Democrats from Tennessee, Kentucky, and Alabama gathered at the Hotel Hermitage at a luncheon given in Wilson's honor by the local Wilson organization. Judge T. E. Matthews presided and introduced the Governor with a felicitiously-phrased ecomium. Wilson was in high spirits; he had just returned from a successful speaking tour in the Mid-West, and he proceeded to discuss again the general issues of the pre-convention campaign — the tariff, control of monopolies, and the necessity for federal banking reform. All of which was very general and exceedingly vague. He concluded with one of his perorations (for which he was famous) which usually succeeded in ignoring the issues:

> What thrills my imagination is this — we are at the threshold of a great enterprise, the retranslation of American liberties in terms of our present day life. The party that first takes up this great programme will govern the country for the next generation . . . .
>
> Now, what should we do? We ought above all things to get together. This is a national enterprise. It is too big for any man or any set of men to declare that it shall be done in their way or not at all. The cost of failure is too big. We shall be judged for a generation as we act in 1912, for to fail now means that democracy in America will be denied fresh fruitage, that America has become a nation dominated by self-interests, and has joined

[48] The other members of the reception committee of the Nashville Wilson Club were Judge Thomas E. Matthews, General W. H. Washington, Lee Douglas, I. I. Pendleton, James T. Miller, Chancellor Kirkland, and Frank A. Berry.

the ranks of nations which go down because they have forgotten the destiny of men.[49]

It would perhaps be difficult to find a more general statement of rather vague idealistic objectives; but it stirred Wilson's listeners immensely. Hardly had he completed his concluding sentence when they were standing in their chairs, shouting at the tops of their voices.

On the following evening, February 25, Wilson spoke at the dedication of the YMCA building. It was a thoroughly Fusionist affair; Republican Governor Ben Hooper gracefully commented that if the Republican candidate for the Presidency had to be defeated, he hoped "the southern man who comes from New Jersey" would be elected. Independent Senator Luke Lea set off a riotous Wilson demonstration by declaring that Wilson was "The man whom the majority of the people of the United States want for their next President."[50]

The political character of the noisy demonstration, however, was in marked contrast to Wilson's speech on the occasion. He had come before the Association, not as a presidential candidate, but rather as a lay preacher, striving to interpret the meaning of Christianity to his audience. The chief success of the YMCA, he declared, had been its advancement of the spirit of Christ. Political liberty had been Christianity's unique discovery, he continued; America therefore ought not to have to be taught that greatness was spiritual, that it was the vision of goodness and the spirit of self-sacrifice that made a nation great.[51] The address drew from the Nashville *Christian Advocate* the observation that Wilson "places first things first, believing that there is liberty for the individual and for the nation only through surrender to Jesus Christ."[52]

Aside from the unpredictable number of new recruits his Nashville speaking tour brought him, and a sizeable amount of friendly publicity, the results of Wilson's visit were barren. When he left Nashville the political situation was in exactly the same condition as when he arrived and the pre-convention campaign picture was so confused by the Democratic rupture that no man could confidently predict the future. The problem of reorganizing the party was rendered highly critical when a sub-committee of the Independent state committee called a state convention to meet in Nashville on June 18 to select delegates to the Baltimore convention and to nominate candidates for presidential electors.[53] Should two Democratic state con-

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[49] *Nashville Banner*, February 24, 1912.
[50] From an account in the *Nashville Tennessean and American*, July 3, 1912.
[51] *Ibid.*, February 26, 1912.
[52] *Christian Advocate* (Nashville), LXXIII (March 1, 1912), 5.
[53] *Chattanooga Daily Times*, March 19, 1912.

ventions meet and nominate different electors, the result might easily be the defeat of the Democratic ticket in the state. In order to forestall any such catastrophe, the Democratic editors of the state, sixty in number, met in Nashville on March 22, 1912, to formulate some compromise that would be acceptable to both factions. By a unanimous vote the editors adopted a plan whereby a state Democratic convention, in which both factions would be represented, should meet, elect delegates to the Baltimore convention, nominate candidates for the state supreme court and the court of civil appeals, and elect a new Democratic state committee. The reconciliation plan would become effective when a majority of both the Independent and Regular state committees had signed an agreement to accept the proposal as that of the Democratic party and had entered into full party fellowship with the leaders in the movement.[54]

The acceptance of the editors' plan by both Democratic factions ended the confusion which had discouraged the spokesmen of the several presidential candidates and was the signal for the beginning of a brief and intense struggle for control of the Tennessee delegation to the national convention.[55] Early in May the Wilson leaders opened headquarters in the Maxwell House, where G. Bibb Jacobs was in charge of operations. The prospect of controlling the state convention seemed at least within the realm of probability, and the Wilson managers thought there was an even chance that some such miracle would happen. The Clark men, too, were active and had set up headquarters a few doors away from the Wilson office in the Maxwell House. Senator Taylor had died in April, and in his passing the Clark men had lost a powerful leader; former Governor John I. Cox had assumed leadership of the Clark organization.[56]

Around May 12 Democratic politicians of all factions and groups began to gather in Nashville for the state convention, which was to meet on May 15. Luke Lea came down from Washington; Mayor Ed Crump and former Governor Patterson arrived from Memphis.[57] The managers for Wilson, Clark, Underwood, and Harmon hovered around the Maxwell House, and all seemed confident that their candidate would secure the support of the Tennessee delegation. On the eve of the convention, some 150 Wilson delegates gathered at the hotel for a last-minute caucus and soon afterwards published an optimistic prediction that Wilson's friends would control the state convention.[58] The opposition leaders, be it noted,

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[54] *Nashville Tennessean and American,* March 23, 1912.
[55] *Chattanooga Daily Times,* May 3, 1912.
[56] *Nashville Tennessean and American,* May 9, 1912.
[57] *Chattanooga Daily Times,* May 13, 1912. Even Republican Senator Newell Sanders happened to be on the scene.
[58] *Nashville Tennessean and American,* May 15, 1912.

simulated an equal amount of confidence. Actually, the situation was still incredibly confused. No one seemed to know whether there would be a fight by either of the groups to secure instructions for their candidate, but the likelihood of such a struggle was made highly improbable when it was discovered that no candidate had a majority of the convention vote.[59]

The chief task before the convention, of course, was to re-create the Democratic party as an integral unit; and since tempers were already dangerously short, a fight in the convention over instructions would hardly be calculated to restore harmony, or even to preserve the semblance of it. When the convention met on May 15, therefore, the leaders agreed to divide the delegates-at-large equally among the four candidates. S. M. Young and George Fort Milton were chosen by the Wilson men; William A. Percy and Luke Lea by Underwood's supporters;[60] John A. Tipton and H. C. Adler by the Clark managers; and Nat Baxter and M. M. Allison by the Harmon men.[61]

Divided among themselves, without unity or singleness of purpose, the twenty-four Tennessee delegates at the Baltimore convention exercised practically no influence, certainly no important influence at all, in the deliberations of that body. They divided their votes equally among the four leading candidates on the first ballot; and although there were fluctuations in their voting,[62] they persisted in this division until the last ballot was taken.[63] With the exception of Luke Lea, there were also no leaders of any importance among the Tennesseans. Lea, however, was one of the most resourceful and influential Wilson managers at Baltimore; he it was who succeeded in effecting an alliance early in the convention between the Wilson managers and Roger Sullivan, Democratic boss of Illinois, an agreement that was as much responsible as any other single factor in Wilson's nomination.[64]

After the long and gruelling struggle in the convention had

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[59] *Ibid.*, May 14, 1912.

[60] Senator Lea was an avowed Wilson supporter, although he had refused to take an active part in the Wilson campaign organization in Tennessee. He was elected by the Underwood men, who were aware of his personal preference in the matter, and agreed to vote for Underwood as long as Underwood's name was before the convention. See Lue Kea to Frank Dibrell, published in *ibid.*, October 22, 1912.

[61] *Pulaski* (Tenn.) *Citizen*, May 23, 1912.

[62] Harmon was eliminated as a candidate early in the balloting. On the tenth ballot the Harmon men in the Tennessee delegation went over to Clark and generally voted for him thereafter.

[63] *Official Report of the Proceedings of the Democratic National Convention . . . 1912* (Chicago, 1912), *passim*.

[64] I have discussed Lea's activities in my "The Baltimore Convention of 1912," *American Historical Review*, L (July, 1945), 698. There is also an excellent contemporary account of the convention, in which Lea figures prominently, in A. S. Link, "A Letter from One of Wilson's Managers," *ibid.*, 768-775.

culminated in Wilson's nomination on the forty-sixth ballot, the progressive, Wilson newspapers in Tennessee were naturally highly elated by the unexpected turn of events. "No braver or better men ever went to battle than those who led this conflict, and no greater victory for a righteous cause was ever achieved," declared Lea's newspaper. "The struggle was one against the combined forces of pelf and plunder, and to say the rights of the people were successfully defended against the assaults of such powerful interests is to say that those who waged and won this battle fully demonstrated their courage."[65] The *Nashville Banner,* which had never been overfriendly to Bryan, admitted that the Nebraskan had "flushed an ambuscade into which Wilson might have fallen," and proceeded to declare that "In Woodrow Wilson the Democratic party may find at once its Moses and its Joshua; the great leader who, properly supported, will deliver it from the long thraldom of defeat and the great ruler to give it permanent establishment in the promised land."[66] Significant, too, was the reaction of the conservative newspapers which had opposed Wilson's nomination and which, with amazing felicity and ease, became overnight the most ardent champions of progressive Democracy, ready now to defend Wilson against any charges the Republicans might make.[67]

Just as the Tennessee Democracy had done little to cause Wilson's nomination, it did little to secure his election. The root of the difficulty, of course, was the Independent-Regular controversy; and any hope that Democratic leaders might have had that Wilson's nomination would draw the factions together was soon disappointed by the continuation of the controversy during the summer and fall of 1912. Actually the acceptance of the editors' plan for Democratic reorganization turned out to be nothing more than an uneasy truce which was openly broken when the Regulars nominated for the governorship Benton McMillin, an anti-prohibition leader in the Patterson organization. There occurred during the early fall an amusing tug-of-war between the two groups, each bidding for the approval and support of Wilson and the national Democratic organization. From all outward appearances it would seem that the Independents, since they had been the leaders in the Wilson movement in Tennessee before the Baltimore convention, would secure Wilson's support. Then the *Nashville Democrat,* which had been established in 1911 as the newspaper spokesman of the Regulars, began a pressure campaign to force Wilson and the national committee

[65] *Nashville Tennessean and American,* July 3, 1912.
[66] *Nashville Banner,* July 3, 1912.
[67] See especially the Memphis *Commercial Appeal,* July 3, 1912, in this connection; also Knoxville *Journal and Tribune,* July 3, 1912, for the reaction of a Tennessee Republican newspaper.

to support the Regular Democratic ticket. It published demands that Wilson come to Tennessee and speak in McMillin's behalf, and warned Wilson that failure on his part to do so might result in the defeat of the national ticket in the state. The state Democratic executive committee soon afterward followed up the *Nashville Democrat's* demands with a similar resolution of its own.[68]

The upshot of the matter was that Wilson found himself in an embarrassing dilemma. There are unfortunately no letters or memoranda in the Wilson Papers that reveal his thoughts on the Tennessee situation, but he was an exceedingly busy person with more serious problems to settle during the hectic days of October; and it is a safe assumption that he let William G. McAdoo, acting national chairman, and the national committee make the decision for him. In mid-October, therefore, McAdoo finally wrote Rice A. Pierce, chairman of the Regular Democratic state committee, that Wilson and the national committee were "not opposed to Gov. McMillin and the other Regular Democratic nominees for state offices in Tennessee," and that they were "warmly in favor of, and are supporting with all their power, the Regular Democratic nominees in every state in the Union." [69] It was about as non-committal an endorsement as McAdoo could possibly have made.

The publication of the McAdoo telegram set off again the fireworks of political controversy in Tennessee. Especially vociferous was the *Nashville Banner,* which rushed to the attack as soon as the telegram was published. It charged, first of all, that the Regular state committee had demanded from the Democratic national committee a sum of money sufficient to print the Democratic ballots and had threatened to leave the names of the electors off the Democratic ticket unless the money was forthcoming.[70] Pierce replied that he had made no such demands or threats,[71] yet the chairman of the Democratic state executive committee admitted that he had asked Wilson's "friends" to furnish money to print the ballots.[72] The *Banner* next charged the Regular Democratic leaders with trafficking with the enemy; Chairman Pierce, it asserted, had concluded an agreement with Theodore Roosevelt, when the Bull Moose leader was in Jackson, Tennessee, whereby the Progressives in the state would support McMillin for the governorship and the Regulars would support Roosevelt for the presidency.[73] When Pierce vehemently denied this charge of political treason, the *Banner* flung back the charges at him

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[68] *Nashville Banner,* October 19, 1912.
[69] McAdoo to R. A. Pierce, October —, 1912, published in *ibid.*
[70] *Ibid.*
[71] *Ibid.,* October 22, 1912.
[72] *Ibid.,* October 23, 1912.
[73] *Ibid.,* October 19, 1912.

and pointed to the fact that he had not denied being in Jackson while Roosevelt was there. It was a malodorous affair, to say the least. The truth of the matter apparently was that Chairman Morton of the state executive committee visited national Democratic headquarters around September 1 and asked the national committee for money with which to run the campaign in Tennessee; and that after his return from New York, he asked the national committee for $15,000 to aid in carrying the state for Wilson and in electing a legislature that would send a Democrat to the United States Senate.[74] All of which was rather ridiculous, the Independents charged, in a state traditionally Democratic, and which proved, furthermore, that the Patterson machine was supported by "the liquor trust, the saloons . . . . the gamblers, bummers, loafers, and vagabonds."[75]

Despite the factional quarrels which precluded any united Democratic action in Tennessee during the presidential campaign, the mass of Democratic voters seem to have been genuinely stirred by Wilson's campaign appeals and desirous of his election. Wilson-Marshall[76] clubs were organized in every county and town in the state, and a woman's Wilson-Marshall movement was organized a week and a half before election day.[77] Needless to say, the Democratic newspapers, Regular or Independent, published Wilson's important campaign speeches and approved them (publicly, at least) enthusiastically. The New Freedom thus became official Democratic doctrine in Tennessee, and Regulars and Independents vied with one another in praising Wilson and berating Theodore Roosevelt and Taft.[78] Reviewing the presidential campaign a few days before the election, the *Chattanooga Daily Times* published an editorial which summarized most of what the Tennessee newspapers had already said:

> In no campaign in recent years has a Democratic leader so clearly and so courageously stated and advocated the basic principles of his party as Woodrow Wilson. He has driven straight ahead for tariff reform along right lines; for the destruction of monopoly through the reinstatement of regulated competition, and for the dethronement of bosses and the restoration of the powers of government into the hands of the people. He has not been diverted from his definite course in pursuit of these underlying principles by non-essentials, nor has he introduced fads and questionable isms to confuse the minds of the people. He has followed a direct path back to democratic simplicity and the rule of the people and their emancipation from the burdens

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[74] *Ibid.*, October 23, 1912.

[75] *Ibid.*, October 19, 1912; see also *Nashville Tennessean and American*, November 2, 1912.

[76] Governor Thomas R. Marshall of Indiana, Democratic vice-presidential candidate.

[77] *Nashville Tennessean and American*, October 30, 1912.

[78] For typical campaign editorials from the Independent and Regular press, see *ibid.*, September 8 and October 13, 1912; *Nashville Banner*, September 3, 1912; *Chattanooga Daily Times*, August 31, 1912.

of privilege and caste. The people believe in him because in the two distinguished administrative positions he has held — president of Princeton university and governor of New Jersey — his conduct and record square with his democratic professions. These qualities of his have stood unassailable during a compaign that has brought out every conceivable objection active, alert and experienced opponents could muster against him. Sympathetic in every fiber of his being with the people, he has been able to impress them with his honesty, his courage and his sincerity and they are for him. His attitudes are sound because they are taken upon the immutable rock of human liberty and equality, and he is safe because the intelligence of the American people expressed in his favor will stand to and abide by the salutary policies he proposes.[79]

Although the Tennessee Democracy contributed nothing by way of leadership in the national councils of the party during the campaign, yet there remained one task — the matter of raising campaign funds for the Wilson cause — in which all the people could participate. And it was this issue, quite naturally, that figured most prominently during the summer and fall of 1912 in Tennessee. When the Regular state committee showed an amazing reluctance to take the initiative in the matter, the Regular and Independent editors took the lead and carried through a successful drive for funds to support the national ticket. Two days after Wilson was nominated, the *Nashville Tennessean and American* got under way a campaign fund drive by contributing $25.00. "If the people do not respond and themselves run their elections, as they hope to run their government," the newspaper warned two weeks later, "the professional campaign contributors will respond for them, and endeavor to control the elections as they have endeavored to do in the past."[80] By November 1, the *Tennessean and American* had collected $889.00 in its campaign for dollar contributions.

Although the Nashville newspaper was the first in the field, the Memphis *Commercial Appeal*, which began a drive for campaign funds on August 11, was much more active and successful. At first it appealed to the enthusiasm and good will of the Democratic voters by reminding them that since Wilson was the people's candidate, they, and not the monied interests which dominated the party in 1904, would have to support the ticket in 1912. "This is not a funeral procession," it declared. "It is a fight, and we had better get on our fighting clothes."[81] Yet, despite the badgering of the Democratic press, the people gave reluctantly and parsimoniously, if at all, and by the middle of October the *Commercial Appeal* was predicting that the Democratic campaign would collapse if sizeable

[79] *Ibid.*, November 3, 1912.
[80] *Nashville Tennessean and American*, July 19, 1912.
[81] Memphis *Commercial Appeal*, September 15, 1912.

financial reinforcements were not forthcoming. "Gov. Wilson's inherent popularity may carry him through," it declared, "but we doubt it. A victorious army can not move without rations."[82] This newspaper spurred a great burst of giving during the last two weeks of the campaign and managed to collect over $6,000 for the Wilson cause — and that was a remarkable achievement indeed.

Since the Democratic organizations in Tennessee could not stop fighting each other long enough to pull together for Wilson, McAdoo at the national headquarters in New York intervened and appointed a campaign contributions committee for Tennessee in late September.[83] While the newspapers solicited contributions from the people directly, the state committee concentrated their efforts on "frying the lard out of the politicians."

When one considers the condition of the party in Tennessee, the achievement of the newspapers and the state committee in raising $15,390.63 during the presidential campaign[84] seems indeed remarkable. Tennessee was the thirteenth state in rank, measured in terms of total contributions, and contributed more than either Michigan, Wisconsin, Ohio, California, or Indiana, whose governor was the vice-presidential nominee. Interestingly enough, Tennessee could boast of none of the 153 men who contributed $1,000 or more to the Wilson-Marshall fund.

It would be almost historical sacrilege to discuss the presidential campaign of 1912 in Tennessee without mentioning Theodore Roosevelt and his Progessive, or Bull Moose party. Roosevelt, it will be recalled, had campaigned for the Republican presidential nomination; and when President Taft was nominated instead, Roosevelt organized a new third party and went before the country on a platform that embodied a queer mixture of advanced social democracy and big business paternalism. Democratic newspapers in Tennessee completely ignored Taft, who made hardly any campaign at all, and concentrated their attacks against Roosevelt. They scored especially Roosevelt's inconsistencies — his refusal to allow southern Negroes in the Progressive party while admitting them to full party fellowship in the northern states; his charges that the Democratic party was boss-ridden and boss-controlled and his own striking similarity to the popular conception of a political boss; the commendable program of

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[82] *Ibid.*, October 11, 1912.

[83] K. T. McConnico was appointed chairman of the Middle Tennessee area; William H. Carroll of Memphis, chairman of the West Tennessee district; and Lewis R. Coleman of Chattanooga was made chairman of the East Tennessee district. Mayor Hilary E. Howse and Judge Thomas E. Matthews, president of the Nashville Wilson Club, were named to direct the campaign fund drive in the capital. *Nashville Tennessean and American*, September 25, 1912.

[84] Rolla Wells, *Report of the Treasurer of the Democratic National Committee* (New York, 1913), 174.

social reform, which he advocated, contrasted with his suggestions for legalizing and establishing permanently the trusts.[85]

A vigorous and enthusiastic Progressive party was organized in Tennessee during the summer; yet, as Edith Snyder Evans points out, its members consisted largely of former Republicans, who broke away from the regular party organization, not because they were truly progressive, but simply because of factional differences within the Republican party organization.[86] Only one newspaper of importance in the state, the *Memphis News Scimitar,* supported the Progressive ticket. Nevertheless, the fact that Roosevelt polled in Tennessee almost as many votes as Taft — and that in its first test of strength — revealed that the foundations for a permanent third party had been well laid.

Roosevelt was almost pathetically anxious to win the electoral votes of at least one southern state. "Really if I could carry one of the eleven ex-Confederate States," he wrote his southern manager, "I should feel as though I could die happy."[87] Consequently he decided to carry the campaign through the heart of the South. His "swing around the circle" through the region in late September and early October took him to Little Rock, Memphis, New Orleans, Birmingham, Montgomery, Atlanta, Chattanooga, Knoxville, and Raleigh. He appealed to the southerners to throw off political tradition and lethargy, which had bound them to one party, and to join with the Progressives in their crusade for the social, political, and moral regeneration of the nation.

Roosevelt opened his Tennessee campaign at Memphis on September 26, when he spoke before the Inter-State Levee Association.[88] His address on that occasion, however, was non-partisan, and it was not until he spoke at Jackson on the following day that he began his political campaign in the state in earnest. He spoke next in Chattanooga, on September 29; on September 30 he made two addresses at Knoxville, in the Republican stronghold of East Tennessee. Needless to say, the Bull Moose leader spoke always before huge audiences and received one tumultuous reception after another in his tour through Tennessee. Yet his appeal fell largely upon deaf ears and he was soon to learn that people often shout one way and vote another. He did not carry a single electoral vote in any of the southern states in the election of 1912. Southern and Tennessee

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[85] See, *e. g., Nashville Banner,* August 6, 8, 1912; Memphis *Commercial Appeal,* August 8, 25, September 18, 1912; *Chattanooga Daily Times,* June 4, September 10, 1912; *Nashville Tennessean and American,* August 10, October 15, 1912.

[86] Edith Snyder Evans, "The Progressive Party in Tennessee in 1912," unpublished M. A. thesis in the Library of the University of Tennessee.

[87] T. Roosevelt to J. M. Parker, July 15, 1912, Theodore Roosevelt Papers, Library of Congress.

[88] Memphis *Commercial Appeal,* September 27, 1912.

progressives, who might have been expected to support Roosevelt, had helped to nominate the Democraic candidate of their own choosing; many of them had risked their political lives in making the prenomination fight for Wilson. It was futile, therefore, for Roosevelt to hope that he could draw progressive support away from Wilson in the South. Southern conservatives, on the other hand, were not likely to vote for a man who advocated the adoption of judicial recall, woman suffrage, or a number of other reforms.

During the campaign there was at least some semblance of Democratic unity in Tennessee with regard to the presidential contest; but in so far as the state election was concerned there was as much discord and bad feeling as there had been in 1910. When the regular Democrats nominated Governor Benton McMillin for the governorship, the Independents again supported Governor Hooper, who had been renominated by the Republicans. The result was McMillin's defeat, by a vote of 123,828 to 114,369.[89]

On Tuesday, November 5, the people of Tennessee also cast a majority of their votes for Woodrow Wilson. Few persons had doubted that the result would be otherwise, for the Republican rupture had resulted in guaranteeing Wilson's election. In Tennessee Wilson received 130,335 votes (52.59% of the popular vote), Taft 59,444 (23.89% of the popular vote), and Roosevelt 53,725 (21% of the popular vote).[90] The enthusiasm of Tennessee Democrats over Wilson's victory was considerably dampened by the Republican success in the gubernatorial contest; and the Regular spokesmen warned their Independent foes that "The time will come when truth will win and the treacherous betrayers of their fellow Democrats in Tennessee will get their just desserts."[91]

Needless to say, the cup of the Independents ran over. Wilson's victory was in a very real sense their own; it was the fulfillment of a dream they had dared to dream in 1910 and of their own considerable efforts to give substance and reality to their hopes. In the state contest, also, they had triumphed for a second time. By standing immovable against the Democratic machine, they established definitely the principle that an anti-prohibition Democrat could not be elected governor; and they forced finally the reorganization of the state party in 1914 on an anti-liquor platform, with a prohibitionist candidate. "The people have shown their faith in Democratic principles," exulted Luke Lea's newspaper, [92] while the *Nashville Banner*, on the afternoon after election day, published perhaps the most

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[89] *World Almanac, 1913* (New York, 1912), 761.
[90] *Ibid.*
[91] *Chattanooga Daily Times*, November 6, 1912.
[92] *Nashville Tennessean and American*, November 6, 1912.

fitting epilogue to this story:

The Democratic party comes again into complete control of the nation under happy auspices that should give it continued hold on power. It has chosen for the next President a man of great scholarly attainment, but wide awake in the ways of the practical world; of unusual force of character, but mild and restrained of manner. Very firm, quite aggressive, indeed, but thoroughly self-controlled; of marked conservative temperament yet fully abreast of the times and thoroughly progressive on those lines of progress that come of intelligent thought and a judgment based on accurate knowledge of the science of government drawn from both the past and present; an open enemy of the machine and defiant of bosses, yet withal a consummate politician who has made no blunders, but has astounded some pastmasters of the craft with the boldness and success of his movements . . . .

The old order has changed. The parties no longer reflect the crystalized sectional sentiment that attached to them so long after all sectional issues were dead. The Democratic party is now thoroughly national.[93]

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[93] *Nashville Banner*, November 6, 1912.

PAPERS FROM THE SPANISH ARCHIVES RELATING TO TENNESSEE AND THE OLD SOUTHWEST, 1783 - 1800

Translated and Edited by
D. C. CORBITT AND ROBERTA CORBITT*

(Continued from the East Tennessee Historical Society's *Publications*, Nos. 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17)

X—October - December, 1788

[TRANSLATION]
GARDOQUI TO MIRÓ, NEW YORK, OCTOBER 2, 1788[1]

New York. October 2, 1788.

Since your last letter of March 24, to which I have replied at length, I have been deprived of your esteemed letters, and take advantage of one of His Majesty's brigs, which is returning to Havana, to enclose the duplicate of my last letter of August 14, and to communicate what seems to me to be worthy of your knowledge.

By the letter mentioned you will see the displeasure of one of the principle men of the country of Kentucky, because of the resolution taken by congress to postpone making that district independent until the formation of the new government.

This man, who is Mr. John Brown from the town of Danville, in the aforementioned Kentucky, had several conferences with me before his departure, in which conferences I made clear to him the generous disposition of His Majesty to make them happy and also our resentment against the limitations placed on us by previous treaties with other nations, hinting to him at the same time that they alone could remove the difficulty by setting themselves up as separate and sovereign, because, since their country cannot pretend to call itself a maritime power, it appears to hold a distinct right over those nations to whom the treaties forbid all communication and commerce with our American dominions. On this supposition, and in view of the fact that their country is only seeking a market in that city [New Orleans] for the products of its soil, I told him that perhaps a means could be found to combine their happiness and ours, but that it was necessary for them to help themselves actively and without loss of time.

He replied to me (apparently with sincerity) that he was contemplating a very proper and important idea for his country, and that he would then inform his constituents and would shortly promote it personally.

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* For editors' introduction see the beginning of the first installment of these "Papers" in the East Tennessee Historical Society's *Publications*, No. 9 (1937), 111-12. With few exceptions the letters printed are from transcripts and photostats of papers selected by A. P. Whitaker from the Papeles de Cuba in the Archivo General de Indias (hereafter cited as A.G.I., P.C.), Seville, Spain, for the McClung Collection in the Lawson McGhee Library, Knoxville, Tennessee.

[1] Archivo Histórico Nacional, Sección de Estado (hereafter cited A. H. N. E.), legajo 3894 (photostat in the North Carolina Historical Commission). This letter, concerned primarily with the Kentucky conspirators, was dispatched via Havana on His Majesty's brig *Infanta*, along with Gardoqui to Miró, October 3, 1788, printed below. On the same vessel went "Colonel" or "Doctor" James White under the pseudonmy of Jacques Dubois.

He went away, in fact, with these ideas, repeating to me, on taking leave, that he would inform me of the results, but that in his opinion there was not the slightest doubt that the Kentucky assembly would resolve to set up an independent state, unless war with the Indians threatened them to such an extent that they needed aid.

I await impatiently the latest news from this individual, who is a man of education, and I have had no difficulty in writing him that congress has just resolved to defer the execution of the treaty with us until the new administration, which delay may increase the difficulties and greatly retard the object to which they aspire.

At the same time there presented himself to me here Major Isaac Dunn who, in the month of July had the satisfaction of receiving infinite favors from you, for which reason I explained to him minutely what is important to them, just as I have asked whether they know how to profit by the liberality of His Majesty.

This man also went away (convinced, apparently, by my reasoning) with the same ideas and these two men have not been the only ones who have gone away with similar instructions; in this way I hope they will produce the effect that is suitable to His Majesty's service and if they turn to you (as they probably will, you may have complete success . . .

New York.
October 2, 1788

Signed: Diego de Gardoqui

Señor Don Esteban Miró

JAMES TO FOLCH, CHOCTAW NATION, OCTOBER 3, 1788[2]

Choctaw Nation, Oct. 3rd 1788

Sir

The Bearer Hearof Mr. Arthur Coody A Cherokee after many Difficulteys Arrived heare of Which Some time Past I informed you. Now he is going to Be one of your Citizens I must Say that it is a Duty Encombunt on me to Recommend him Since My Acquaintance With him to be a worthy good Man. Nothing More but I am With Esteem

Sir your Most Obt.
Humble Servt. Ben.' James

To Capt. Folch, Commanding his
Most Catholick Subjects at Mobile

[TRANSLATION]
GARDOQUI TO MIRÓ, NEW YORK, OCTOBER 3, 1788[3]

In a confidential letter that I wrote Your Excellency the 14th of May of this Year, I informed Your Excellency that with my approval there had departed an Individual of Importance from these States for the Settlements, where Monsieur D' Arges[4] offered to carry out his Commission, since he was an able, prudent man, possessed of a considerable amount of property in that Country, with relatives and friends there, and employed by this Government, he went to meet our halfbreed McGillivray last year.[5]

This individual has returned, and assures me, that he has fulfilled our

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[2] A.G.I., P.C., legajo 201.
[3] A.G.I., P.C., legajo 104.
[4] Pierre Wouves d'Arges.
[5] For documents concerned with White's mission to the Creeks see installment III of these "Papers," *Publications*, No. 11 (1939), 71-83.

mission with entire satisfaction and to such a degree that he no longer considers it safe nor proper for him to remain in this country, for which reason he has decided to go to New Orleans for the purpose of furthering our aims personally.

Therefore I am sending him at the expense of the Royal Treasury by this Brig and begging the Government of Havana to grant him passage so that he can present himself to Your Excellency under his real name which is Dr. James White, although on his trip it will probably be wiser for him to use another.[6]

I have known him as a Member of this Congress from North Carolina for a period of three years, and he was commissioned by it for the settlement of treaties with the Indians; in view of his general knowledge, and especially of the Boundaries, and his understanding of the secret views of this government, nobody can inform you more accurately; therefore, I recommend him to your especial attention, and beg that you will lend him your ear and aid him with the understanding that I shall advise His Majesty of what I have written you.

My desire is that you shall reap the greatest benefits possible from him, and that our Lord shall protect you life many years.
New York, October 3, 1788.

Diego de Gardoqui

Señor Don Estevan Miró etc.

[TRANSLATION]

GARDOQUI TO MIRÓ, NEW YORK, OCTOBER 10, 1788[7]

At the instant when I was about to seal my letter to you there arrived a Mr. James [Sevier] son of Mr. John Sevier whom the District of Franklin named as its Governor, when it tried to separate itself from North Carolina.

This Individual, whom Doctor James White has presented to me, was sent by his Father with two Letters[8] for me, literal Copies of which I enclose to you, because considering it too delicate a matter to answer him in my present Situation, I have sent him word verbally to go to you where he will find all the protection and aid that your office affords, for which purpose I have granted him a Passport, inserting in it permission to carry some Provisions to supply the expenses of his trip, upon which I arranged for him to leave here, which, in fact, he has done.

Since the above mentioned Doctor was the one who took upon himself the task of dealing with the said Mr. John Sevier, he has promised to write him and to inform you in detail of all that is Necessary, so that you can give the orders you think convenient for the Royal Service . . . .
New York, October 10, 1788

Diego de Gardoqui

[TRANSLATION]

GARDOQUI TO FLORIDABLANCA, NEW YORK, OCT. 24, 1788[9]

New York, October 24, 1788 Confidential No. 21
Don Diego Gardoqui Most Excellent Sir

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[6] White went to Havana under the name of Jaques Dubois.
[7] A.G.I., P.C., legajo 104.
[8] One of these letters, dated September 12, 1788, is printed in installment VIII of these "Papers," *Publications*, No. 15 (1943), 103. The other of the same date is printed in Archibald Henderson, "The Spanish Conspiracy in Tennessee," *Tennessee Historical Magazine*, III (1917), 234-235, 244-245.
[9] A. H. N., E., legajo 3893.

My dear Sir. Since my last confidential letter No. 20 of July 25 (a duplicate of which is enclosed) I have not had the honor of receiving one from Your Excellency, and having explained all that occurs to me in the Official communication, I shall limit this letter to avoid all the inconvenience possible.

I humbly believe that I have done all that was my duty to make it possible for the Government of New Orleans to reap benefit from the present situation in this country.

The reports that I have had circulated in Kentucky and the neighboring settlements, and those that I have spread secretly here, seem to me to have paved the way for His Majesty to favor those settlements when the occasion presents itself; at least I can assure Your Excellency with the greatest candor that those who came from there, and the accounts that I hear, breathe only a uniform opinion to the effect that the people of those settlements expect to live in friendly communication with their neighbors the Spaniards; so that no longer do we hear the threats that we formerly heard. This good beginning can surely provide us with the opening we seek; nevertheless, I confess to Your Excellency that I view the matter as most complicated and difficult.

Without going into too much detail, I forsee that it will be necessary for us, for England, and these States, to be responsible for developing this country of which we are speaking more rapidly than could be expected (making it important in its infancy) and that in the end it is probable that the one that wins [its inhabitants] will lose the friendship of the other two nations, who will unite either from necessity or from convenience.

It is difficult to predict what those settlers will decide in the Convention[10] which has been called, because the war or the attitude of the Indians is more serious than was imagined in this country, but I dare say that, in spite of the fact that under any other circumstances we should think of them as leaning more toward this nation as the one which shows the greatest interest, which dominates them more, I believe they will consider well before deciding.

I have no fears if we are placed in the balance with England, but I consider it difficult for this generation, which has had such close relations with these States, to separate from them immediately, especially in the state of the present war which threatens them.

Notwithstanding, I believe that it is very necessary to pursue our objective insistently, for although I know that these States will try to attract them by every possible means (especially now that they see that we are caressing them, knowing that they show affection for us) it is more than likely that they will appeal to them for help with their defenses, but I doubt very much whether they can supply it. It seems that a necessity concerned with their security might oblige them to turn to their neighbors, in which case the occasion should not be lost, and it may be wise to anticipate it.

The reasons concerned with their convenience are so obviously in our favor that I have to defend them on the ground that to unite themselves to us would be more advantageous to them than to possess New Orleans and its waters, and I do not believe that I risk anything in predicting that time will bring them to the King.

Don Jaime may be very useful because of the information that he has about the inside workings of this government and its claims concerning

[10] The Kentucky convention of November, 1788.

boundaries, and for other tasks that it is necessary to carry out up the river.

Morgan's project[11] seems to me to be of prime importance, and the talents of that person encourage me to reiterate my recommendation of him to Your Excellency.

I believe I have impressed well upon him what he should cause to be circulated in Kentucky about the advantages to commerce to be expected if they know how to take advantage of His Majesty's generosity.

Your Excellency will note that the Salaries fixed by Morgan's plan are small compared to those in our possessions, but I do not believe they are improper, nor that they will make them greedy.

On this point I now recall a report that was given me some days ago about the Government of New Orleans having contracted with two persons from Kentucky to purchase a certain quantity of Tobacco at the price of ten pesos per hundredweight.

I believe that this act includes some points beneficial to the service, and that for that reason such an excessive price was agreed upon, but it will be useful to reduce it as soon as possible, which seems easy to me, because even they themselves are surprised at the generous price we pay.

Six pesos per hundredweight is more than should be promised them, as Your Excellency will see by the account which I prepared for them, and they cannot contradict it.

A hundredweight of good tobacco in Kentucky is worth *two pesos* in cash, and when exchanged for goods, as is generally the case, it brings *three*, which is even more advantageous to the purchaser.

Transportation to New Orleans costs a half peso per hundredweight, and even then this cost is excessive, so that Your Excellency can see that by paying them six, they gain at least one hundred per cent, which is a profit that the most favored nation does not gain on a voyage to China in which Capital is employed for more than two years.

I do not know whether I deceive myself, Your Excellency, but I confess I fear that the excessive profit to which they are accustomed in the King's dominions in America (which has no equal in others), and the freight and other necessary expenses injure us greatly, and are the cause of our being sacrificed to foreigners with contraband.

I shall not be surprised if this opinion encounters opposition in Spain, but I doubt if it will be reasonable, and I should like very much to hear it; in the meantime I reiterate that I had the honor to expound to Your Excellency in my paper of May 1, 1787, that until we remove the obstacles to, and overcharges on our shipping and products of both worlds, and reduce the prices so as to put them on a level with those of other nations, our progress will be very slow, and the zeal of Your Excellency, along with that of others who work to promote the good of the nation, will suffer.

I fear that I have gone to excess in this digression to which I was insensibly carried by good intentions and the pain of seeing the insatiable thirst of our own people for contraband trade, and the way it debases them. I beg Your Excellency's pardon.

By the last letter from Mr. Jay and by what I have found out about his secret Conference, Your Excellency will see that the extreme fear of some States that we should succeed in getting the agreement about Excluding them from the Mississippi, has furnished us with what His Majesty had planned.

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[11] Colonel George Morgan's plan for settling Americans at L'Anse a la Graisse, now New Madrid, Missouri.

Nevertheless, it has seemed well to me to take advantage of the occasion to assemble my complaints about the delay and to put the results before them with anticipation; viz, that the King is tired of the little recognition given him, of the injury to his trade, and following the example of these States will issue an order prohibiting the importation of their products, or at least increasing the duties on them as is just until our affairs are settled. At the same time it has seemed convenient to me to spread the report that, taking for granted that nothing will be done for a while, I shall take advantage of the interval to visit my own business with the permission of His Majesty.

I believe that both may be useful to us for the following reasons:

The goodness of the King to these States, and the suave and friendly conduct that I have followed according to the Royal instructions, have gained for us that good opinion which we should always have had, but although on the whole we have won it and it may be useful later, I noted some inconvenience, because the opponents of our ideas have taken advantage of our condescension to talk much about how we are interested in the matter of that River, and to put us in the light of supplicants.

To dissipate this conception with which they have blinded many, I have spoken out with great clarity and logic to make them understand that they are the needy ones, but it seems to me, nevertheless, that it would be well to convince them that we are far from caressing them out of necessity.

I believe that we risk nothing, but rather that it is to our advantage to take time and let them seek us, and I believe they will not delay long.

In view of the great opposition to the new government I am persuaded that it will proceed with extreme circumspection in its dispositions, and I believe that I am safe in asserting that it will not dare to accept the arrangement that I agreed on with Mr. Jay until it has become firmly settled with sufficient and effective power, in spite of the fact that the Atlantic States want it, for the people here are beginning to get their eyes open and they are realizing the injurious results of this poorly understood policy of spreading to the country beyond the mountains because they feel the loss of those that migrate, and their land decreases in value.

With these reflections in mind, and also what I have previously represented to Your Excellency about my temporary absence, I would have taken advantage eagerly of the remaining short autumn period, which Your Excellency has so kindly made possible by remitting to me His Majesty's permission, if I had not been restrained by what I believe is my obligation to fathom the Kentucky affair.

The delicate situation has outweighed, as is proper, my health and comfort, causing me to postpone my voyage until I know the results of the Convention, which is called for next November 3.[12]

I do not expect anything very favorable from it immediately, but I prefer to clear it up and leave without regret.

Meanwhile I beg Your Excellency to convey my thanks to His Royal Highness and receive them yourself for your protection and your activity in my behalf.

Luck has not been very kind to me in respect to the season, for if something unforeseen does not delay me, I shall have a Winter crossing, but we shall leave it in the hands of the All-powerful.

I reiterate what I promised Your Excellency in the Official communica-

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[12] The Kentucky convention of November, 1788.

tion about conforming myself to whatever you are pleased to order and I shall report to Your Excellency when the time arrives.

Permit me to repeat here the straits in which I have found myself with the return of Captain Larrassett,[13] of whom I give account in my official communication, and the necessity I have been under to satisfy his credit. I hope the reasons given for doing what they did in Havana are not true, as he states, but if so, it does little honor to the employees of the accounting office there.

Be that as it may, Your Excellency, please believe me when I say that it is very necessary for the good of the nation to cut off all communication from here to our possessions, even by vessels of the Royal Navy. This hint is sufficient for your enlightened understanding.

Since the Indian war has made these people careful, and since the two powerful chiefs whom they fear are a certain Brant[14] of the Northern Nations and our Mestizo McGillivray, it will be well to win them by whatever means we may find necessary, and it seems to me that, at least until we have arranged our affairs, it would be convenient to have the said Mestizo satisfied and devoted to us, because I know that the States of Georgia and the Carolinas are doing much to win him.

I am preparing in Philadelphia some 300 emigrants[15] (that I am assured are desirable) for New Orleans, but I shall not be in a hurry to send them flour because I have had no news since the fire and it is rumored that there is an abundance of everything since a large amount has come from the foreign Islands, so I shall arrange the cheapest freight that I can obtain, and I shall inform Your Excellency what I decide.

The States of Pennsylvania and Connecticut have just chosen their Senators for the new government. I am acquainted with and have had dealings with Robert Morris from the former, and with Mr. Johnson from the latter. They are both to my liking, and I am assured that one of the others[16] will be also.

Perhaps I can form some opinion before my departure, and I shall not be negligent.

May your Excellency be as robust as I desire of the Almighty and I hope that he will grant me the satisfaction of seeing you and thanking you respectfully for the honor you have conferred upon me . . . .

New York, October 24, 1788

Diego Gardoqui

His Excellency the Conde de Floridablanca etc.

[TRANSLATION]

LIST OF PASSPORTS TO NEW ORLEANS[17]

1788

May 7, to Mr. Peter Paulus for himself and several families.

August 26, To Mr. Alexander Dalrymple, and Mr. Thomas William Baldendine for themselves.

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[13] Captain George Larressett, commander of the Spanish mail packet *El Infante*. Gardoqui to Ezpeleta, November 12, 1787, installment V of these "Papers," *Publications*, No. 13 (1941).

[14] Joseph Brant of the Mohawks.

[15] See the list of passports printed below.

[16] William McClay was the other senator from Pennsylvania. Those from Connecticut were William Samuel Johnson and Oliver Ellsworth.

[17] A.G.I., P.C., legajo 104.

September 8, To Mr. Ralph Hymphreys for himself and various families.
October 4, To Colonel George Morgan according to advices and Letters.
October 8, To Mr. John Lewis for himself, his family, and Slaves.
October 11, To Mr. John Sevier for himself and several Associates.
November 1, To Mr. Joseph Smith and Twenty more Companions.
November 3, To Messrs. Henry Pawling, and Greenberry Dorsey for themselves and Twenty more Companions.

[TRANSLATION]

VIAR TO MIRÓ, NEW YORK, NOVEMBER 23, 1788[18]

My dear Sir.

In fulfillment of the order which Doctor James White gave me upon his departure for Havana, I take the liberty of addressing to you by means of the Brig Concepcion, Captain Francisco Campo, the enclosed, a Blunderbuss, and a Bullet mold which the said Captain is instructed to put into you hands and I beg that you send them to Mr. James White wherever he is.

With this purpose I put myself at your orders, hoping that you will command me in my capacity of Member of this Secretariat, and in any other where fortune may place me . . . .

New York, November 23, 1788 . . .

Josef Ygnacio de Viar

Señor Don Estevan Miró

[TRANSLATION]

GARDOQUI TO FLORIDABLANCA, NEW YORK, DECEMBER 24, 1788[19]

Number 306
New York, December 24, 1788
My dear Sir:

By an unforseen accident, which has detained the bearer for some hours, I have the satisfaction of giving you news of Colonel Morgan and a Mr. Thomas Hutchins, principal geographer of these states, who for a long time has been one of my confidants and has served me honorably.

The mail has just arrived and with it two letters, copies of which I enclose without translations because of lack of time to make them, for which reason I cannot write of their contents at as great length as I should like to, but I shall say briefly that, although I am sorry that this Morgan has not waited for the approval of His Majesty as concerns the matter he discussed with me, nevertheless, I am persuaded that what appears to be hasty action proceeds from his desire to profit by the present condition of this country and from his natural activity, and perhaps from some slight grudge against this government with which he parted so disgustedly.

In view of the promising appearance of his project, I think that if His Majesty has approved it, it would be best not to lose an instant in giving orders to the Governor of New Orleans not to prevent or discourage it and spoil the occasion. Even if I dared to write him something more than the foregoing, I have no one to bear the message.

As to making a free port of that town, which they propose to call New

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[18] A.G.I., P.C., legajo 104.

[19] A. H. N., E., legajo 3894 (photostat in the North Carolina Historical Commisson). A note at the end of this unsigned copy of Gardoqui's letter to Floridablanca says that along with it were being sent a copy of a letter from Thomas Hutchins, Esquire to Gardoqui and a copy of another from Colonel George Morgan to Gardoqui.

Madrid, and the difficulties which it is said will occur to me, I do not doubt that you will understand that they allude to my duties of persuading those people to put themselves under the protection of the King, impressing upon them the mercantile advantages which will result to them as I informed him in detail.

As I understand it the matter is concerned with the fact that those people will soon be engaged in manufacturing, as well as the added fact that they believe that we owe them an outlet for the products of their soil, which they are inclined to cultivate.

As to the six hundred pesos more that I have given him, I hope His Majesty will be pleased to pay them, for you will note by his letter that he makes himself responsible for the money and I am sure he is a propertied man and an honorable one.

Mr. Hutchins is the same person who wrote a treatise on that country and drew some maps of it at the time it belonged to England, being at that time a Captain of Engineers. He is an able man, and having cultivated him since I arrived here, I have been able to use him to spread the ideas favorable to us, which is the matter he refers to in his statement about the private conversation which we had when he took his leave of this place.

I have always encouraged him to approach us, promising him that I will request you to interest yourself in getting His Majesty to deign to order that some land that he possessed in Natchez be restored to him, and that he be employed in his profession

[Unsigned]

[TRANSLATION]

EZPELETA TO VALDÉS, HAVANA, DECEMBER 29, 1788[20]

No. 2,

Confidential. Most Excellent Sir.

Don Diego Gardoqui sends me from New York an Individual from the United States with a letter for the Governor of New Orleans, Charging me to furnish him transportation to that City at the expense of the Royal Treasury.

A few days after this person arrived here, being told that I was the Captain General of Louisiana, he informed me in writing of the motive that takes him to that Province, of which the enclosed paper is a faithful translation, and he added orally several other details, such as his going under the name of Jaques Dubois, his real name being Mr. James White, a member of Congress for the State of North Carolina, that he has held other important offices, and that he is one of the large planters of Cumberland.

Although this matter has already been communicated to the Conde de Floridablanca by the King's Minister to the United States of America, by which route it will have been reported to His Majesty and to Your Excellency, it is of such importance that my zeal and duty oblige me to tell Your Excellency what I think about it.

The King's vast Dominions in America have always merited his especial care, as much to promote the happiness of his Vassals residing there, as to preserve the peace of those dominions. Constant attention to these aims has protected these extensive Lands from the attacks of their Enemies in time of War. Up to now England has been the most dangerous enemy to be feared, but as to the hostilities of this Power in America were only the

[20] A.G.I., P.C., legajo 86-6-17.

results of the political interests treated in the Cabinets of Europe, it was easier to guard against the consequences by dealing with all disputes together.

At present there is on the Ameircan Continent a Sovereign State, which has, in addition to the same political views that motivated the Power from which it separated by force of Arms, the ambition to expand, and since its People are accustomed to overcome difficulties, there are none, however great, that seem to them insurmountable, as long as to the human forces there is added no other which by its nature restrains them.

The United States of America fought for their liberty: they obtained it, but their very desire to enjoy it has caused dissensions among them for some time about the choice of a form of Government. At present the majority have adopted that which will probably be effective, but even yet there are some who are discontented. According to what White says, the State of North Carolina has not ratified, and unless it changes its policy, it will find itself entirely separated from Congress. On the Western side of of the Allegheny Mountains, and of the Appalachians, extending almost to the Mississippi, there are more than two hundred thousand inhabitants settled in the Territories of Kentucky, Cumberland, and Franklin. Up to now these people have been awaiting whatever fortune they might expect from Congress, but feeling cramped now by this dependence, they have decided to live under a separate Government and to make alliances of another kind because they see that under its Dominion they could never obtain commercial advantages since the Ports are too far away, and since to get to them they must cross almost inaccessible Mountains, which it seems were placed there by nature to divide these Countries.

The power of the People of Kentucky, Cumberland, and Franklin is what we are trying to diminish. If left to take on all the force of which it it is capable, this power will become fearful, because of the ambition of those people and their easily obtainable resources, which make them prejudical to the interests of the King, since that is the only object that calls their attention. Extended as they are from the Atlantic Ocean to the waters of the Mississippi, penetrating to the very center of the King's Dominions, those people, if their own interests did not disunite them, would make formidable Enemies because they can easily transport Troops and Artillery, which the currents of the rivers make difficult for us, and because, being accustomed to hardship and scanty provisions, they can move rapidly.

Mr. James White treats directly of the interests of Franklin only, but his plans are also applicable to Kentucky and Cumberland, although the latter remains united to the State of North Carolina. From what Lieutenant Colonel Don Manuel Gayoso[21] has reported to me, I know that the people of Kentucky have even more likely dispositions than those of Franklin; consequently, we can count on these two new States and be sure that Cumberland will follow the same policy because it is in a similar situation and is located between the other two.

Without taking into account the number of new Vassals that the King would acquire in these regions from the settlers that would come to establish themselves in Louisiana and develop it, it is a matter of the greatest importance to separate from the United States of America all those People established on the Western side of the Appalachian Mountains, on any

[21] Manuel Gayoso de Lemos, governor of Natchez. From 1797 until his death in 1799 he was governor of Louisiana.

condition compatible with the Dignity of our August Sovereign. Their location has them almost separated already, for only by overcoming many difficulties can the Shippers carry the fruits of their industry to the Atlantic Ocean, and when private interest does not bind them, it is difficult to persuade them or hold them to their obligations. But if their separation is not established absolutely, these same People, although discontented on account of a lack of transportation, will be formidable under Arms, if, induced by some Nation with which the King is at war, they are encouraged to disturb the tranquility of His Majesty's Dominions in America. Even when scattered and not authorized by the United States to commit hostilities, who will be responsible for their good faith, unless they are held by some reliable bond? The King is the only Sovereign that can help these People and stimulate them for their own interest to live quietly and apply themselves to the cultivation of the land and to other branches of industry, by furnishing them the means for exporting their products by way of the Mississippi and Mobile Rivers — the only outlets that nature has left in so vast a Country. It will never be accomplished in any other way.

I confine myself now solely to the People of Franklin of whom Mr. James White treats: they are settled with some regularity in the territory between the Holston and French Broad Rivers; some have left this place and have gone to Cheote[22] (a town from which they expelled the Indians), as is seen by the accompanying Map; they have already formed five Counties, according to White, and although their inhabitants are rather numerous, it is impossible to find out how many there are. They are laboring men, but of the kind that served with Arms in the common cause, or of the kind who, to avoid the disturbances of the war, retired there when it began. Every day others who are dissatisfied with the condition of the United States go there, especially since they conceived the hope that by the Navigation of the Mississippi they would be furnished an outlet for their products. In order to obtain this advantage they propose to place themselves under the protection of the King by means of an oath of fidelity, and to abjure any other alliance or connection, direct or indirect, with any Power, on the condition, nevertheless, that they have complete control of their internal government and administration as free people; that they be granted an increase of their territory by being allowed to extend along the Cherokee and Tennessee Rivers on the Southern side to the headwaters of the Yazoo and Mobile Rivers in order to give them an outlet to the Sea by both; that they be allowed to ship their products in Spanish Ships, paying a moderate duty; and finally that they be obligated on their part, to defend the King's territory against any attack by another Power, and that they help His Majesty's Officers when it is necessary, since they expect to be reciprocally supplied with munitions and other necessities, paying their just value.

By this request it is inferred that they desire to be under the protection of the King, taking an oath of fidelity, but reserving to themselves the right to be a free People in their internal administration, without paying any other taxes than that on the products and articles they export, and that they want to increase their territory under the agreement; and finally that they expect reciprocal aid, paying for it a reasonable price.

The said Territory of Franklin is now outside the King's Dominions, and the territory that they want to annex is under dispute with North Caro-

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[22] Sometimes spelled "Chota." It was located on the Little Tennessee River.

lina, who claimed it secretly in Congress, to the exclusion of the other States. Under the circumstances the sacrifice the King will have to make is to grant them a Country to which he has a legitimate claim but which North Carolina also believes is hers. In exchange for his indulgence, His Majesty will have at his disposal a considerable number of people who can be very useful to him. By becoming accustomed to recognize his sovereignty through an oath of fidelity, they will, without perceiving it, go on to subjecting themselves to other obligations of Vassalage; they will develop a commerce that will greatly increase the Merchant Marine, and consequently there will be men for the Royal Navy. These same men losing with experience the prejudices that our rivals have instilled into them, will live united with us, and will be employed in the Service of the King like real Spaniards, the greatest advantages being their separation from Congress, and their uniting for their benefit with us with the same interests as the other Vassals of the King, raising thus a secure barrier against the unjust attempts of the United States, for it is easy to defend the entrance through the almost impassable Mountains which separate them. Unless the propositions of such a numerous people are accepted (supposing that, if they are denied this favor, they refuse to live under the Laws of Congress, and that the political interests of other Nations do not encourage them to commit hostilities against the Dominions of the King, a thing which will never be lacking), their necessity will oblige them to expand; but what is more certain is, that lacking the means of doing it, the desire to prosper will awake in them their natural restlessness with the hope of improving their condition and, violating all the most just and respectable considerations, they will try to break the barriers that enclose them, going wherever ambition leads them.

In view of all these reasons, it seems to me that there is not only no choice but to accede to the petition of the inhabitants of Franklin, but that it would be very useful for the preservation and peace of the King's Dominions, and that it would be desirable for all free Peoples settled on the Western side of the Mountains to follow the same example, with the differences offered by circumstances, as perhaps they will occur more advantageously. Nevertheless, it is best to proceed with caution, restricting the people of Franklin to more reduced boundaries than those they desire, for not only is it unjust to extend the liberality of the King more than is necessary, but it is well to reserve the lands to distribute to the people of the said free Establishments, who, as Settlers and true Vassals of the King, want to build their homes in his Dominions. To this I add the equity with which the Indians should be treated, leaving them lands for hunting and cultivation.

The present circumstances favor the execution of this project, for although the American Republics have already chosen a form of Government presided over by General Washington, combining private interests with those of the State, it will be long in settling internal differences, and will not be able to attend to other matters. North Carolina has separated from Congress and forms no part of it, governing herself by special Laws, according to White. All the aforesaid People of Kentucky and Franklin are entirely free, for so they have declared themselves to Congress, and as such may form alliances or closer connections without injuring any Power. Those of Cumberland are taking measures to do likewise. All these things required His Majesty's prompt decision in order that they may not change their minds through the influence of the English or of others who work to attract them.

Mr. James White is a person of good appearance, showing talent and ability to manage affairs of this nature. Your Excellency may well consider

that the hope of promoting his own interests goes hand in hand with those plans that his enthusiasm has set in motion.

This is all that occurs to me to inform Your Excellency about in this matter . . . .

Joseph de Ezpeleta

Duplicate
His Excellency Don Antonio Valdés.

[TRANSLATION]

WHITE TO EZPELETA, HAVANA, DECEMBER 24, 1788 (ENCLOSURE)[23]

Copy
To the Captain General: Since the Province of Louisiana is under the immediate orders of Your Excellency, I am induced to take the liberty of informing you of some circumstances that seemed to the King's Minister in New York conducive to the preservation of the peace in His Majesty's Dominions.

The considerable settlement which has been made in those parts recently, and which still increases, cannot but have come to your notice. In Kentucky the Inhabitants approach one hundred thousand. The Settlements of Cumberland and the new State of Franklin are still in their beginnings in that vast and fertile extent of territory.

All the borders of His Majesty's Dominions and all valleys of the Rivers that flow toward their center, are full of strange and unknown people.

Such a number of people situated in this way, will come to cause misgivings if they are allowed to join the United States and become subject to its decisions: but luckily their interests can be directed as differently as the course of their waters. A little reflection will show that, on the contrary, these Western People have a natural community of interests with Spain, proceeding from their local situation and other circumstances.

It is easily seen that the policy of the Spanish Government points more toward attracting these new Nations as friends than to taking precautions against them as enemies. If they separate from the States on the Atlantic Ocean, rivalries in Mercantile matters cannot occur, and consequently there will be few reasons for discord. On the other hand, the Commerce and friendship of no Nation can be as useful to the people settled on that side of the Mountains as the trade and alliance with Spain.

The advantages of such a connection, and the danger that would arise from neglecting it, have already been pointed out to Señor Gardoqui, who by his presence in America has been able to understand the real state of the Matters. Circumstances favorable to this intent soon presented themselves [after the arrival of Gardoqui in the United States]. Vexations and jealousies began to cause murmurings in the new Settlements against those on the Eastern side of the Mountains. During this time the new State of Franklin became important and began to merit especial attention. It bordered on the King's Dominions, and was perhaps actually within his territory. A dispute having occurred between the United States and the State of North Carolina about the Sovereignty of that District, its inhabitants set up a Separate Government for themselves.

Señor Gardoqui was well informed that this land was filling up with People whom the United States considered as subjects; he knew that they

[23] A.G.I., P.C., legajo 86-6-17.

were entering Spanish territory, and that this might bring lamentable consequences, either the necessity of expelling them or of forcing them to submit to the Authority of the Sovereign; to which was added the fact that the United States claimed some hundreds of Square Miles near the boundaries of the King's Dominions. Therefore he thought that an occasion had presented itself which might put an end to all this — that of using these people to form a barrier, which could easily be done with the concurrence and help of those who were actually in possession of the Country. He foresaw even more the great evident advantage of this project — that the fortune of these people would serve as a stimulus for all the others to preserve their independence from the American Republics. Finally he proposed to the Author of this paper that he cross the Mountains and promote among those people the idea of considering the importance of the King's protection, and he wrote to Governor Sevier as a means of beginning the business.

The Route is by Fort Pitt, going down the Ohio and across Kentucky. It is known positively that that district was inclined toward a union with Great Britain, and that it has been publicly talked of there, and upon sounding out these people it was found that many favored embracing this party. When Spain was mentioned to them as a better founded hope, they replied with prejudice that the Spaniards were opposed to the liberty of the human race, and from them no liberality could be expected until they [the western districts] had become more stable, and had obtained more consideration through other alliances. Nevertheless, they listened with pleasure to the reasons offered to them for thinking differently, and since then they talk of a connection with Spain. According to the custom of proposing toasts at at the Tables, some have been proposed publicly that show this desire. One of the points of the discussion in Congress about granting them an independent Government was the fear of this very connection, for those people asked for separate Government last summer.

In the State of Franklin the minds of the people were already predisposed. They were divided into two parties—that for the Government of North Carolina, and that in favor of the new State, which was not only the most numerous, but the one that contained the people of most importance—a circumstance which gives weight to a Party; but since their opponents had the protection of North Carolina, the people of Franklin were losing ground until they received the message of Señor Gardoqui, with which they took new hope. They were not ignorant of the claims that the king had to the territory adjoining that which they possess, and therefore they showed the most ardent desire to assist the Officers of His Majesty against whoever opposed them in their vicinity. They proposed to place themselves under the protection of Spain. Sevier wrote for them to the Spanish Minister in New York that they wished to place themselves under the protection of the King through an oath of fidelity, abjuring any other power. In the same letter the preference to the claims of the King over those of Congress were mentioned, as was the fact that they had never received any help from the latter, for the English, they said, had been expelled solely by them and the Spanish Forces. Last October they wrote again with the aim of establishing a Government under the protection of the King. On this point Señor Gardoqui, understanding well that these people would be a barrier against other intruders, gave them hopes of obtaining what they asked for. The motive he had for persuading the Author of this paper [White] to undertake this journey was the fact that I had been the first to dedicate myself to the matter, and was really considered the most appropriate for pro-

moting the business because of my knowledge of the Country. He therefore decided that I should go and talk to the King's Officers, and consult with them about the formation of these Settlements, thinking that it would be the surest and least noticeable way to form a barrier against the intrusions of people solicitous of forming unions with the Eastern States.

It is not necessary to point out that this enterprise will also be useful in the most natural and convenient way in giving the first example of the dismemberment of a Dominion whose union in this part of the World will each day take on more formidable proportions. From the knowledge I have of the Country I am sure that in time this example will be extended.

Spain now has in her hands the power to assure herself of this Country by peaceful and humane methods. Then its inhabitants will be a Source of advantage instead of dangerous and turbulent neighbors. United to the American Republics, they may be especially suspicious. Separated, nature itself will keep them from Mercantile rivalries; the traffic for the exportation of their raw products will stimulate of itself an increase of Sailors for the Royal Navy. Weighty and voluminous goods like Tobacco, Hemp, iron, Food, and other bulky articles will gather in such abundance at the Ports on the Mississippi, with the facility for transportation by water, so that as many Sailors as are necessary to Arm many Warships will be maintained.

There are other advantages that will result from this union. It will not be a great sacrifice for Spain to make these people sincerely devoted to the Government of His Majesty, even to the point of being useful for subjecting and controlling the turbulence of other Peoples. Certainly these lands can furnish many Individuals useful to the Army and Navy if they come to have an exclusive union with the Crown. Therefore, I can do no less than flatter myself that Your Excellency will classify this business as an introduction to matters of greater importance, and that you will favor it with your protection. Your Excellency will then permit me to make a suggestion in the following lines.

There is a great expanse of debatable land between the present possessions of the King and the Tennessee River. Permit these people to settle near the boundary, but within the limits of Louisiana, and consequently within the protection of Spain. They suggest that for their entrance into, and the privilege of any Employment, or lands to cultivate, an essential and permanent condition will be the taking of the oath of fidelity to the King, and the abjuration of every other Power. Let them be permitted to embark their products at Mobile, or on the Mississippi, on Spanish Ships. This will bind them in the surest way, as much through affection as through interest.

As to internal policy, Will it not be best to indulge them by granting them the continuance of their manners, Customs, and Prejudices that habit makes them Love? With time, if other customs are considered necessary, they can be substituted for these. Finally, permit me to add that as the Spanish Boundaries have to be decided upon, many circumstances favor this Operation at present. In the American Government there is not only a debility and general impotence that makes it incapable of causing uneasiness in a matter of this nature, but to the States it will seem of little consequence because North Carolina has declared its claim to this Country to the positive exclusion of all the other States, and having separated from the American union because it does not want to accept the New Government, it will stand alone.

Be the future results of this Business what they may, it is probable that under the present circumstances less opposition will be met with now than at any other time. Havana, December 24, 1788—James White.

A literal translation of a paper written in English by Mr.James White, and presented by the same to Señor Don José de Ezpeleta, Captain General of Louisiana & c.

Ezpeleta.

Havana, December 26, 1788.
Manuel Gayoso de Lemos.

LETTERS FROM JAMES K. POLK TO SAMUEL H. LAUGHLIN, 1835 - 1844[1]

Edited by
JOSEPH H. PARKS

Samuel H. Laughlin was born in Washington County, Virginia, May 1, 1796. While still a young man, he moved to Tennessee and settled in Warren County. He was a lawyer by profession but devoted a great portion of his time to newspaper work and politics. Throughout his career he was an unfailing supporter of the political aspirations of James K. Polk. In 1835 he was made editor of the Nashville *Union*, the newly established Democratic organ. His fondness for drink, however, interfered with his effectiveness as an editor and he was soon replaced. During the next decade he served his party well as state legislator and as delegate to national conventions.

During the presidential campaign of 1844 Laughlin was again called to the editorship of the *Union*, and following Polk's inauguration as president, he was appointed recorder of the General Land Office of the United States. To no other person did Polk write in greater confidence.

During the period covered by these letters Polk was congressman, 1835-39, and governor of Tennessee, 1839-41. His effectiveness as a politician was largely due to his intense party loyalty and to the meticulous care which he gave to minor details of party organization. Suspicious by nature, he sometimes sensed plot and intrigue where they did not exist; this characteristic, however, kept him alert and frequently enabled him to anticipate the movements of his opponents. Following the retirement of Andrew Jackson, he assumed the Democratic leadership in Tennessee, and it is not too much to say that the party revolved about him. When conflicting aspirations of party members threatened party solidarity, he used every means short of dictation to eliminate, by mutual consent, all but the strongest candidate for each office. Polk was not the most selfish of politicians but, as his letters reveal, he was prone to assume that his own elevation was foremost in the minds and plans of his political friends. In the case of Laughlin, this assumption was certainly cor-

[1] These letters were recently acquired by the Manuscripts Division of the Library of Congress and added to the James K. Polk Papers. They are published through the courtesy of Dr. St. George L. Sioussat, Director.

rect. The intimacy which characterized the correspondence between these two men gives to their letters an importance out of proportion to the space they occupy.

Columbia, Tenn., Apl. 28th. 1835.

Dear Sir

Private and Confidential

My Speech or rather that part of it which related to the election, will be printed in the Observer[2] of friday next. In any notice you may take of it, be careful to say nothing — which would produce local irritation or excitement now;[3] — I am not unapprized that every exertion is making at Nashville,—by letters written into my District to bring out opposition to me.[4] The first effort was made upon Maury,[5] and I have no doubt you are right in supposing that the object of Bradford's[6] visit to Nashville was to consult, and to receive instructions. Since his return home, there are rumours here, that consultations are going on in Bedford,[7] and that he will probably be a candidate. Letters from Nashville to this County, *I learn confidentially,* have promised, if opposition can be brought out, that a magazine can be furnished from Nashville to blow me up. They doubtless allude to the correspondence with Johnson.[8] — Upon that and all other points I am fully prepared. — I have been busy, and if opposition come I do not fear it; still I desire to avoid the labour of a contest, and wish therefore to avoid any thing which might excite and produce it. In any thing you may say, of my Speech, and the doctrines it advances, which I know to be in accordance with those, — of our friends whose object is to preserve the party, urge the necessity of union, — & be careful to say nothing of the *Convention*[9] (for that is an abstract question — the discussion of which now can be of no practical use), — and say nothing of any particular candidate for the Presidency. — Those who would fan the present excitement, have their objects to answer in the coming elections, after — which, the sagacious men among them, must see it must cease to exist. It is doubtless a prominent object with Mr. B.[10] — to have me beaten for Congress —. I will disappoint him if I can, — It occurs to me that you might in a short pointed article expose the fact, that the Tennessee press, now quotes almost exclusively from the bitter opposition papers in other States,—and that they are in fact taking a course in opposition to the present administration. The last Observer for example claimed it as a triumph, that the opposition (the Whigs) had succeeded in the election in 4 out of 7 counties in Virginia. Might you not make a

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[2] Columbia *Observer*.

[3] Laughlin was editor of the Nashville *Union*.

[4] Polk was a candidate for re-election to Congress.

[5] Maury County.

[6] Theodorick T. Bradford; proprietor and editor of the Shelbyville *Herald*, the first newspaper published in Bedford County; state senator from Bedford, 1821-23, 1825-29, 1831-33.

[7] Bedford County.

[8] Probably Cave Johnson of Clarksville; Democratic Congressman, 1829-1845; postmaster general in Polk's cabinet.

[9] This reference is to the Democratic convention which was to be held at Baltimore. The majority of Tennessee's congressional delegation had proposed Hugh Lawson White as a candidate for the presidency and refused to have anything to do with a convention that was certain to nominate Martin Van Buren. Polk favored Van Buren but was mindful of White's popularity in Tennessee.

[10] John Bell, the congressman for the Nashville district. Formerly a Democrat, he was now in the process of going over to the Whigs.

strong appeal to the old friends of the President,[11] and those who approve his measures to stand by him and sustain him, in the last two years of his term. In the closing part of my speech I have allusion to it. I might have added that it might well be doubted, whether at the close of the last Session, the President was not in a practical minority in the House as well as the Senate; — As for example upon the question of the printer's election. We have been for years feeding from the Treasury Gales & Seaton & Duff Green[12] to abuse the President, & all his friends and all his measures, — and yet with a *professed* majority of 40 — as they left the hands of the people we could not elect the only administration organ at Washington[13] to do the printing of the House. By whose votes were we defeated? Who were opposed to the viva voce vote? The Journals will show. By whose votes too did we fail to pass the [Defense?] Bill?[14] — It occurs to me that you might [blot] Jackson flag to the mast, and in a series of numbers expose the efforts now making to destroy him. — Upon this point I know in this quarter, you can produce much effect. Expose too this hypocracy [*sic*] when they pretend to praise him, — and before all is over the people will believe they are in open opposition. — Carroll's[15] Speech has had a good effect. They can't beat him. — *Bob Foster*[16] tells me *Cannon*[17] is to be here this week to make a speech. I shall be obliged to you to keep me advised confidentially of what is going on. —

Columbia May 18th 1835.

Dear Sir

Private & Confidential

To prevent misrepresentation at home as well as at a distance, if you think it right I wish you would reprint the Editorial — marked in the *Observer* I send you. I have an intimation — that Lewis[18] wrote it, and the present Editor could not refuse to publish it. That part of Bell's Speech was intended to affect me, and on that account, — I wish the contradiction of the Editor here to appear in your paper. *Cannon & Dunlap*[19] I understand made furious speeches here on saturday. I was not at home. My friends think they were intended for effect in my District. Opposition is still threatened & I think will be brought out. I do not fear it. All is well so far in Bedford. I was in the County on Saturday.

P.S. Write me the news. Did you send my Speech?

Columbia Sept 6th 1835

My Dear Sir

Private & Confidential

Your letter of the 30th ult. enclosing the copy from *Governor Reynolds*[20] — was duly received. — I am under additional obligations to you for the

[11] President Andrew Jackson.

[12] Joseph Gales and William Seaton were editors of the *National Intelligencer*. Duff Green was editor of the *United States Telegraph*. They had been serving as public printers.

[13] Washington *Globe*, edited by Francis P. Blair.

[14] Refering to the $3 000,000 bill. See note 42.

[15] William Carroll; Democratic governor of Tennessee, 1821-27, 1829-1835; unsuccessful candidate for re-election, 1835.

[16] Probably Robert C. Foster, a Williamson County Whig; state senator, 1839-1843.

[17] Newton Cannon, Whig governor of Tennessee, 1835-39.

[18] William B. Lewis, a close friend of Jackson and a resident of the White House.

[19] William C. Dunlap of Bolivar; Democratic congressman, 1833-37.

[20] Probably John Reynolds of Illinois; Democratic governor of Illinois, 1830-34; congressman, 1834-37, 1839-1843.

interest you take in my affairs—. I have received several letters from members of Congress upon the same subject [21] avowing their friendship and expressing their intention at the opening of the next Session. — I have answered them politely of course, but have been careful to write nothing upon that subject. I do not intend to write any *Cassedy letters*.[22] — That is a matter that my friends can attend to, if they choose. I cannot with a becoming self-respect as it seems to me write upon the subject at all, — and think I had best not do so.

Some of the leaders in your town,[23] have their correspondents in this quarter — who in order to shew their consequence sometimes *talk too much*.— I learned on yesterday that one of these had said — *upon apparent authority*, that *Mr Bell* would come very near being elected [speaker], but would probably be beaten, but that there was one consolation about it, and that was that *Polk* was not the man that who would do it.—*They say* it will be so managed that *Polk* will not be the administration candidate. One of the leaders in Nashville (Foster)[24] mentioned the other day to a friend of mine, that *Polk* would not be the man to run. — Now I will tell you my suspicions of what is going on. *Bell* would rather be beaten by any other man than by me; first because to be beaten by any other would not be so wounding to his pride & secondly because it would not do him so much injury in Tennessee. — Billy Lewis is his *confidential-man* at Washington, — and through him I suspect an intrigue to prevent me from being taken up as the administration candidate. — In furtherance of the same design the Nashville Republican — is to play its part at home, — and by its *false* insinuations and inuendos [*sic*], endeavor to make the impression upon the friends of the administration abroad,—that I was elected as a *quasi White-Man*.[25]—They know this to be *false*. — Every man in my District knows it to be *false*. — Lewis is a *White* & a Bell-man, is in every way wrong in his politics, but he takes special care to conceal this, at Head Quarters,[26] — and retain therefore some ability to do mischief. — He is intimate too with *Blair* of the *Globe* and will endeavour to operate upon him. — He will set the *Governor of Florida*[27] to work too if he can. — *Mr. Mason*[28] of Va. is the man *they* speak of as I learn. Now *Mason* is a highly honorable man, but I do not believe he ever thought of it himself, unless it has been recently suggested to him. He has been intimate with *Bell*, voted for him at the last election,[29] and it was late in the contest upon the Deposit question before he learned the *will* of his constituents and took ground. — He is however a clean man & is now I believe right in all things, but I do not think would [illegible] come in collision with me.— All the while I was in the front of the battle, —

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[21] Polk's candidacy for the speakership of the House of Representatives.

[22] A political letter from John Bell to Charles Cassedy of Bedford County. The letter was stolen and used against Bell.

[23] Nashville.

[24] Ephriam Foster, Whig senator from Tennessee, 1838-39, 1843-45; unsuccessful candidate for governor in 1845.

[25] Hugh Lawson White of Knoxville; Democratic senator, 1825-1840. He broke with the Jackson party when he became a candidate for the presidency in 1836.

[26] Referring to President Jackson.

[27] John H. Eaton of Franklin; Democratic senator, 1818-1829; secretary of war, 1829-1831; governor of Florida Territory, 1834-36.

[28] John Y. Mason, a Democratic congressman from Virginia, 1831-37, was being proposed for the speakership.

[29] Election of speaker of the House in June, 1834. Bell defeated Polk.

and last winter when our delegation broke off,[30] I stood my ground firmly with Johnson & Grundy.[31] — To be very candid with you, after all that has happened, my friends will consider that I have been very badly treated if I am not selected as the candidate of the party. — I have letters enough in my possession already to satisfy me that *I am the choice* of a majority of our friends if left to themselves to choose. — *Foster* says & Bell's friends here say, that *Mason* is the man to be run against *Bell*. This I take it, is rather what they wish, than what they know. It would [blot] very strange if *Bell* & *Co.* should select our candidate for us. Let what will happen however, I will [blot] firmly upon my principles and with my political friends. What is the meaning of the charge in the Republican,[32] that *Blair* of the *Globe*, promised the Speakership to Virginia at the Baltimore Convention? What had they heard from their spies there, or is this another of their falsehoods? — With the intimations we have, of what is going on, I think my friends cannot be too active. A plain, strong — letter from you to *Blair* of the Globe, I have no doubt would have a fine effect. The feelings of the President & Donelson[33] I have no doubt are strongly with me. — Having been beaten before, my pride & my future standing too, I consider deeply concerned in the matter, — and unless by management, — a different direction is given to things, I have no doubt I will be the man. I have a letter from Dunlap. He is my friend. I learn from two friends — who speak with certainty, that Huntsman & Shields [34] will be so, but would probably especially, the latter be for *Bell* against any other candidate.—A strong letter from some of our friends to *Silas Wright* of N. Y.[35] and *R. M. Johnson*,[36] would be important. *Catron*[37] if he has returned could write to someone in N. York.—The sooner these matters are attended to the better. — This letter is for *your own eyes* & *when its contents are noted for the flames.* —

I have heard nothing yet from *Mr White*. I am expecting an answer daily. — *Mr A. C. Hayes*[38] will write you today. —

P.S. I have been so sick and am still so weak that I have been able to attend but little to the interests of the *Union*. I have seen *Mjr. Rives* and *Dr* [Flournoy?] of Giles, who will shortly forward you a list of 10 subscribers & as many more as they can get. — As soon as I get out I will stir myself in this county. I have written to Gilchrist to do the same in Bedford. — I wrote to *Cave Johnson*, that I would meet him in Nashville on wednesday next. If I am not there, tell him it is because I am too feeble to come. He will be going to Hickman County, & tell him he must without fail, come this way and see me. —

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[30] All members of the Tennessee delegation except Polk, Grundy, and Johnson, broke with the Jackson party in December, 1834, by proposing White for the presidency. Jackson had already decided on Van Buren.

[31] Felix Grundy of Nashville; Democratic senator, 1829-1838; attorney general in Van Buren's cabinet, 1838-39.

[32] Nashville *Republican*.

[33] Andrew Jackson Donelson, nephew and private secretary of President Jackson.

[34] Adam Huntsman of Jackson; Whig congressman, 1835-37. Ebenezer J. Shields of Pulaski; Whig congressman, 1835-39.

[35] Democratic senator, 1833-1844.

[36] Richard M. Johnson of Kentucky; Democratic congressman, 1807-1819, 1829-1837; senator, 1819-1829; vice president, 1837-1841.

[37] Justice John Catron of Nashville; chief justice of the Tennessee supreme court, 1830-36; associate justice of the United States Supreme Court, 1837-1865.

[38] Polk's brother-in-law.

Washington City
Jany 30th 1836. –

My Dear Sir

Private & Confidential

I send you herewith the daily *Globe* of this morning containing a Report of a debate in the House on the 26th on a resolution offered by Mr *Mason* from the Committee on Foreign Affairs, – the object of which as you will see was to give *precedence* in the order of business, – to the appropriation bills, – the speedy action upon which is now so much demanded by the critical position in which the country is placed.[39] – It had become apparent, that every obstacle would be thrown in the way of the speedy consideration of these important measures – by the greater portion of the opposition, and especially by the Nullifying & White part of the opposition, and hence the majority of the order proposed by the committee of Foreign Affairs.–Mr Bell you will see, participated largely in the debate, and though cautious as he always is, played out his hand with sufficient distinctness to be perfectly understood. – He deprecates the influence of the President's name, and in the concluding paragraph of his reported speech, to which I call your attention, insinuates that our present difficulties with France are to be attributed to the *"blunders & follies"* of our own Government, and declares that he will "hold the political agents who may have brought on the war responsible to the country;" – and that "They shall not escape their due responsibility." – He was surely rebuked in reply as you will see, by *Mason, Sutherland*[40] & others – and on the final vote – found himself in a minority of 59 - to 159; – every administration-man (with the two exceptions I will presently mention) voting in the affirmative, and some of the opposition seeing the imperious necessity of the measure voting with them; – whilst on the other hand every man who voted in the negative making up the 59 (with the two exceptions above alluded to) were opposition-men, – including in their numbers every – nullifier in the House. – The result was a round majority of 100 – votes against him. The two votes alluded to, were given by our friends *Dunlap* & *Shields*, who are every way well disposed and generally vote with the administration & its friends. – They probably voted without reflecting upon the importance of the vote, – or possibly under the impression that the adoption of the measure might delay the consideration of the Tennessee Land Bill;[41] These are however my own conjectures, for I have conversed with neither of them. – *Their* votes, constitute the only circumstance which will make any notice you may take of the proceedings embarrassing to us. – They doubtless voted from far, different considerations, from those which influenced Bell & others. – If in your notice, you find yourself compelled to notice their votes, you must treat them kindly.–*Huntsman* voted with our friends. You can probably notice it, without saying any thing about *Dunlap* & *Shields;* at all events nothing to their prejudice.

Judge White has made another speech in the Senate, in relation to the

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[39] Mason's resolution was used as occasion for a Whig denunciation of the Jackson administration for its alleged inefficiency and blunders in handling foreign affairs. As a result of France's failure to make payment on the spoliation claims, war appeared probable.

[40] Joel B. Sutherland of Pennsylvania; Democratic congressman, 1827-1837.

[41] A revival of an earlier proposal to cede to Tennessee for educational purposes the residue of public lands in the western section of that state. The cession was finally made in 1841 and 1846.

three-million appropriation,[42]—in which he unites with the opposition Senators Southard[43] & others, in censuring the President, & endeavouring to explain his vote. —

In the House you will see, *Mr Wise*[44] was set on to assail me. You will see my statement of facts in the reported proceedings of the House published in the Globe some days since: in which my whole offence consists in giving *Lea* & *Bunch*,[45] information, when they asked it at the last session.— When I gave them the information they asked, the Senate had not voted upon the *three-millions*, and when no one as far as I knew had the most distant idea that Judge White would separate from the friends of the administration & vote with its enemies against it.—Yet out of my information given to *Lea*, before White had voted, they now attempt—falsely to make out a conspiracy between the President and myself, to procure the appropriation, and I understand White himself has gravely referred to it in his Speech in the Senate, the report of which I have not yet seen.—

All this is mainly intended, no doubt for the Tennessee market.— It is now apparent that I am to be the object of insulent [*sic*] attacks, not only through their paper *"The Sun"*,[46] but by the leaders of the little band, *Bell, Peyton*,[47] *Wise* & Co. in the House, and by *White* himself in the Senate, if my account of his late speech, in which he had allusion to me, is correct.— *The War cannot be too soon carried into Africa.*[48] Their real position in opposition, and their object should be laid bare to our people.— They should not be suffered any longer to fight under false colours.—

In regard to my knowledge of the executive wishes—in relation to the *three millions*, it was precisely that which every one could have had by taking the trouble to go to the President. The President was that evening in one of the rooms of the Capitol, signing bills,—not 40 feet from the Senate Chamber & if Judge White had doubted the President's wishes, he could by stepping to him, at once have learned them.

Whilst chairman of the Comt of W & Means,[49]—it was my duty to have constant intercourse with Executive Department,—in regard to the various appropriations which passed through that committee, — and I cannot be mistaken, when I state, that I must have been applied to, hundreds of times, by different members of the House for information in regard to the different appropriations,—and I always freely gave the information I possessed, when asked for it, as I did—to *Lea* & *Bunch*, when they asked it in relation

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[42] Near the close of the previous Congress the House had approved a special appropriation of $3,000,000 for national defense. The Senate, unable to pursuade the House to accept some minor changes in the bill, defeated the measure. Later, the Whigs charged that stubbornness on the part of House Democrats in refusing to accept reasonable amendments proposed by the Senate had actually been responsible for the defeat of the bill.

[43] Samuel L. Southard of New Jersey; Whig senator, 1833-1842.

[44] Henry A. Wise of Virginia; congressman (first Whig and then Democratic), 1833-1844.

[45] Luke Lea of Campbell's Station; Whig congressman, 1833-37. Samuel Bunch of Rutledge; Whig congressman, 1833-37. The Whigs had accused Speaker Polk of soliciting votes for the $3,000,000 bill on the ground that its passage was desired by Jackson. Polk had apparently told Lea and Bunch of the President's wishes.

[46] Washington *Sun*.

[47] Bailie Peyton of Gallatin; Whig congressman, 1833-37.

[48] This allusion, meaning carry the war into the enemy's territory, is to Publius Cornelius Scipio's statement before the Roman Senate in 205 B. C.: "Let Africa be the seat of war henceforth."

[49] Polk was now speaker of the House.

to *three millions*. I had often given inquiries [*sic*] to *Lea* & *Bunch* (who sat in seats immediately in my rear) in regard to other appropriations, when they asked it, as I did in the case of *three millions*.—Yet now, after the lapse of a year, it is attempted to make a matter of importance, and to give a false colouring to, information which I gave them, upon their own request—in regard to the *three millions*.— They go so far as to give a private certificate of their conversation with me, place it in the hands of *Wise*, who boards with them & Judge White, (without notifying me of it) to be used in an attack upon me, whilst in the chair & in a situation not to permit me, to get into any collision with any member upon the floor. Fortunately I remembered the conversation & promptly stated it to the House: and *Lea* himself in his place was compelled to admit that my statement was correct.— Notwithstanding all this, *Wise* in the House & *White* & *Southard* in the Senate, attempt to make out of it, what is false, a conspiracy between the President and myself to get the appropriation through, and at the same time conceal the President's wishes from Judge White & thus entrap him. The absurdity of this is apparent & they are driven to hard shifts, when they have nothing better to resort to, to defend the Judge's vote against the *three millions*. It is an after-thought altogether. — How absurd! That the President's [wishes?] were to be concealed from Judge White, and yet that I should have communicated these very wishes to *Lea* & *Bunch*, who were his neighbours & particular friends at home, and who then as well as now lived in the same boarding House with him — The truth is, this poor shift, cannot be availing, —and if the Tennessee White papers make it necessary, I have given you the facts to enable you to expose it.—*This letter is for you own eyes, and not for publication*—. I thought it might be useful to you, however to make the suggestions I have. I have no doubt, you will do both myself & the cause of truth justice should it become necessary.—

Columbia Augt 5th 1836.—

My Dear Sir

I am in the receipt of your favor of the 3d—Instant. I regret that I could not see you as I passed Nashville. I arrived at night, intending to remain at least one day, but learning the extreme illness of my sister, left in the stage on the next morning. I found my sister lingering in the last stage of consumption. She died on tuesday last.—

I expect to be at Nashville upon the occasion of the President['s] reception. Nothing will prevent unless the time fixed, should interfere with the arrangements of our Maury people, who I understand are moving, with a view to have several public dinners in different parts of the County. The time for only one of the dinners spoken of has as yet been fixed; & that is to take place on Thursday next the 11th Instant. I wrote to Grundy, to let me know on what day the dinner would be given to the President at Nashville, that we might avoid any collision, but he has not done so.— It is important that I should know immediately, on what day it will take place, and I must ask it as a particular favor of you, to write me by return mail, if the day has been fixed. I hope it may not be on Thursday next.— Among others,— I understand that a public meeting is called at Bigbyville[50] on tomorrow, and I may within two or three days—have to give an answer and fix a day to meet the people in that part of the County, and unless I can know immediately the day the President will be at Nashville, there will be

[50] A village in Maury County.

danger of collision.—

Should ample notice be given scores of our people will go in to meet the President.— Your notice should be at least 10 days or two weeks before the day, otherwise the people in the distant Counties will have no opportunity to attend.

I see that the Lebanon people are to have a dinner & have invited Wise & Hardin,[51] and following their lead have denounced *"the party"* in power, or in plain English the friends of the administration.—When men of the political faith of Ben. Hardin & Wise are invited by the Tennessee friends of Judge White to their festivities—it ought to be known. Might it not be well to notice this. —

When I see you we will talk over all the matters about which you write & I hope be able to make suitable and satisfactory arrangements.

Nashville April 1st 1840

My Dear Sir

Private & Confidential

The corresponding committee here will meet on tomorrow, and will as I learn appoint yourself and Mr Speaker Thomas[52] as delegates to Baltimore. I learn from a letter recd. from a friend at Columbia that Thomas will certainly accept and go on if you do. [He?] desires to go with you, and makes your acceptance almost a *sine qua non,* of his own.— It is my Dear Sir, an important moment, not so much to myself individually, but to the party and its continued ascendancy. I verily believe that your presence at Baltimore and at Washington a few days before-hand will be more important than that of any other individual in the South West, and I hope nothing may occur to prevent it.— Thomas desires to set out by the 10th but would wait for you, until the 12th or 15th if you desired it.—Mr Harris[53] has showed me you letter as you requested him. — The information from Ohio, accords with that which I had received through another channel.— Information reached here by to-night's mail that the Democratic members of the Massachusetts Legislature, and other Democratic citizens have held a State convention, and unanimously made the same nominations as that made by Tennessee and Virginia,[54] and the nominations are placed at the head of the Editorial Column of the Boston Post, the Statesman, Bay-State Democrat, and other Democratic papers in that region. — New York now holds the balance of power and can decide the matter in a day, by taking a decided stand *at once.* The delicacy of her relations to the subject, and the fear of giving offence by taking decided ground between common political friends, I am aware prevents her at present from acting, but then she must *finally* take her position, and would give no more offence *now,* than she would at a later period, when it may be out of her power to avert the danger which threatens the party.— But I need not pursue the subject.— Let me hear from you, on receipt that you will go on. Take Nashville in your way, as I wish to see you.

Nashville April 2nd 1840

My Dear Sir

Private & Confidential.—

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[51] Benjamin Hardin of Kentucky; Whig congressman, 1833-37.

[52] Jonas E. Thomas of Maury County; speaker of the Tennessee house of representatives, 1839-1841.

[53] Jeremiah George Harris, editor of the Nashville *Union,* 1839-1843.

[54] Van Buren and Polk.

I wrote you a hasty letter last night. Today the committee here had a meeting and appointed *Mr Speaker Thomas and yourself* Delegates to Baltimore, and I presume will apprize you officially of the fact forthwith.— *Col Keeble*[55] of Murfreesborough will be appointed in place of McGavock[56] who declines, & probably *Col Guild*[57] in place of Tompkins of Sumner[58] who declines,—and it is believed both will go on. I hope My Dear Sir! you will not decline. Your presence I regard, as very important. *Majr Donelson* told me on yesterday he would certainly go on. I think it doubtful whether *Gov. Carroll's* health will enable him to do so.— It is suggested hence that the Delegates from the Western District and Middle Tennessee, should leave here together between the 12th and 15th of this month. If you concur in this, write to such of them as you know to that effect. The movement of the Democratic portion of the Massachusetts Legislature, which may be regarded as the movement of the Democratic party in all New England, is very important, in this: that it makes it certain that *Col J.*[59] cannot get the nomination without the support of both New York and Ohio. From Mr [Homers?] letter to you, of which you speak in your letter to *Mr Harris,* I do not think it likely that he can get *Ohio. Mr [Homer?]* lives near the route as you would go on, is himself a delegate to Baltimore and it might be well to call by and take him on with you.— If New York makes a mistep [*sic*] she may put to hazard the main election, whereas by a prudent but decided course taken *now,* she may put our success beyond all doubt.— Our friends in Washington and elsewhere should be early and fully apprized of this.—I saw the *Hon. Thos. P. Moore* of Harrodsburg Kentucky at Hollysprings Miss. where he was on business a few days ago; He is of your opinion upon the subject of the Vice Presidency; says Col J. will be an incubus upon the ticket, in *Ohio,* and even in Kentucky, where he represents him as not being the choice of the party. *Moore* is decidedly my friend, and is excited and warm on the subject, not so much for me individually, as for the success of the cause. He has an extensive acquaintance all over the Union, and especially in Ohio & other Western States, and you may write to him safely. Now that the contest is narrowed down between Johnson and myself, our friends *Phelan*[60] and others in Alabama could do much good by taking ground in their newspapers—before the convention assembles, and this they might do with propriety, since their own citizen[61] is lost sight of in the canvass. Do you know Col Nathl Terry of Limestone County, *Hon S. C. Posey* of Florence or *Mr Woodson* of the Huntsville Democrat.[62] The two former I know to be my warm friends; and the latter I understand

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[55] E. A. Keeble, a member of the Murfreesboro bar.

[56] Probably Randall McGavock; mayor of Nashville, 1824-25; later clerk of the Davidson County circuit court and of the state supreme court of errors and appeals.

[57] Joseph Conn Guild of Gallatin, a prominent lawyer; Democratic members of the state legislature, 1835-39.

[58] Sumner County. Tompkins has not been identified.

[59] Richard M. Johnson of Kentucky.

[60] Probably John D. Phelan, a former editor of the Huntsville *Democrat;* attorney general of Alabama, 1836-39; speaker of the Alabama house, 1839; later professor of law at the University of the South, Sewanee.

[61] William R. King; Democratic congressman from North Carolina, 1811-16; senator from Alabama, 1819-1844, 1848-1853; minister to France, 1844-46; vice president, 1853.

[62] Nathaniel Terry of Limestone County, Alabama; Democratic state senator, 1836-1845. Sidney C. Posey of Florence, Alabama, a prominent lawyer. Phillip Woodson, editor of the Huntsville *Democrat.*

is so in his feelings and predilections. *Burn this when you have read it.* I write more freely to you than I would to almost any one else, because I know I can do so safely.—

P. S. If Gov. Carroll should not be able to go to Baltimore, and I think he will not be, our friends here wish to have our friend *Harris* of the Union appointed in his place. The appointment of Mr H. would be a good one—

Nashville Augt 9th 1840

My Dear Sir

Private

Your letters of the 3rd and 7th Instant are before me. I have also before me two letters from Huntsman of the 4th Instant—one addressed to myself—and the other to a leading political friend here who does not engage actively in politics,—and which I am permitted herewith to enclose to you, for your information as to Huntsman's movements.— I send also a list of *Foster's* appointments for the District.[63] You will see from Huntsman's letter that he can, if desired enter the Mountain District[64]—and last of Augt or 1st of September, spend a fortnight there, and be back in time to attend to Foster—whose first appointment will be on the 14th of September. Foster's appointments in the District you see extend to the 19th of October—so that if Huntsman does not come to the mountains—the last of the present month he cannot come at all.— I regret exceedingly that your engagements—will not permit you to spend two weeks in the District,—commencing at the great meeting at Paris on the 27th,—and still hope *in mind of the great importance of the movement*, that you can so arrange your private affairs—as to enable you to do so.—I dislike to be too importunate with friends—who I am aware have already submitted to great sacrifices,—and will not I trust be so regarded by you.—If however it is still possible for you to go with me to *Paris* (I have determined to go) and be there on thursday the 27th Augt; on *friday* 28th at Huntington;— on *saturday*—29th at *Pleasant Exchange* on the line between Henderson & Madison;—on *monday* the 31st at *Lexington;*— on tuesday the 1st Sept at [illegible] in Henderson 15 — miles from Lexington; on wednesday— the 2nd at *Jackson;* on *thursday* the 3rd at Denmark in Madison—12 miles from Jackson; on *saturday*—the 5th at *Brownsville;* on *monday* the 7th at *Trenton,* on *tuesday* the 8th at McLemoresville on the line between Gibson & Carroll, — on *thursday*—the 10th at *Camden* in Benton, and on *friday*— the 11th at *Waverly* in Humphreys;—I am thoroughly satisfied that more good could be done, than by any movement now in our power.— At *Waverly* you would be within 2. moderate days ride of Nashville—and could reach home by the 15th. If it be possible for you to do so, advise me of it by the return mail—and I will immediately have handbills struck and send the appointments in advance of you: If you will do this I am authorized by Huntsman in his letter to me to make appointments for him in the mountain—commencing on the 31st Augt & and extending to the 10th Sept, and if you can do so, will make the appointments for him,—and immediately advise him of it, on receipt of your letter. If you cannot do

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[63] Probably that portion of Tennessee west of the Tennessee River.

[64] Laughlin's home district which included Warren, White, Coffee, Van Buren, De Kalb, Overton, Fentress, and Jackson counties. Huntsman was a former resident of this region and had represented Overton, Jackson, and White counties in the state senate, 1815-1821.

so. — Huntsman thinks he cannot safely leave the District. *Totten*[65] I am advised will accompany you, at the appointments suggested for the District,—if you can possibly—leave home at that time.—*Boling Gordon*[66] and *Barkley Martin*[67] will commence a tour through *Lawrence, Wayne Hardin* and *Perry* about the 20th Inst.—A. [blot] is here in good health and spirits. The Whig [blot] having wonded [*sic*] himself in a rencontre with *Bell* which you have seen in the newspapers, is all sheer fabrication.—*Cave Johnson*, is at home & in improved health;—and will go with us to *Paris*.—Great anxiety exists here to hear the particulars of the fight between *Coe* & *Scruggs*.[68] — The fear is that *Scrugg's* wond [*sic*] may be mortal,—and that *Coe* may be involved in trouble,—though the rumour is, that he acted strictly in self defense.—

I have seen Mr *Kizer*.[69] You children who were sick are much better.—Mr K. will write you, concerning your visit to the District.—All your friends concur in the opinion that it is very important.—*Turney*[70] will be at home by the last of the month & he & *Hollingsworth*[71] if necessary,—can accompany Huntsman in your District whilst you are gone. — I will see that *Carroll* goes with me to Salem in Franklin—as you request. — We will fix *the day*, before we go to Paris. — Write me by return mail, as it is important that the arrangement between *Huntsman* and yourself, if made should be made without a moment's delay, — so that ample notice may be sent out. —

Nashville Augt 15th 1840

Private

My Dear Sir

On my return from *Dover* last night I received your letter of the 11th Inst and have sent one of the same date to Mr Kizer. *Hand-bills* have been struck to day — for your appointments, — as also for *Mr Huntsman's* in your District. A large number of those for *Huntsman* will be sent up by Genl Armstrong[72] by the mail that takes you this addressed to *Mr Ford*[73] or yourself. You will of course see that they are circulated. Copies of the same will be sent to all the Counties, — so that if you have made any appointments for *Huntsman* which will conflict with these, — you must call them in. — I think it probable that *Huntsman* can remain a week longer in the Mountain District, and if so, he can pass over from *Lancaster* in Smith — to *Smithville* — and such other places as you may designate. I have written to him and it will be time enough to extend his appointments, if he will agree to it, after he is heard from. — *Turney* must *certainly* accompany him and *Hollingsworth* will do so also, if necessary but perhaps Mr H. might be more usefully engaged elsewhere. *Gov. Carroll* agrees *positively* and *ab-*

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[65] Attorney A. W. O. Totten of Jackson; associate justice of the Tennessee supreme court, 1850-55.

[66] State representative from Hickman and Dickson counties, 1829-1835.

[67] Barclay Martin, Maury County representative in the state legislature, 1839-1842, 1847-48, 1851-52; Democratic congressman, 1845-47.

[68] Levin H. Coe, a state legislator, representing Hardeman, Fayette, and Shelby counties. Scruggs is unidentified.

[69] Beza P. Kizer, Laughlin's son-in-law.

[70] Hopkins L. Turney of Winchester; Democratic congressman, 1839-1843; senator, 1845-1851.

[71] Probably Henry Hollingsworth of the Nashville bar; mayor of Nashville, 1837-38.

[72] Robert Armstrong, a close friend of Jackson; unsuccessful Democratic candidate for governor of Tennessee in 1837; proprietor of the Washington *Union*, 1851-54.

[73] L. N. Ford, editor of the McMinnville *Central Gazette*.

solutely to accompany you from *Paris* through *Carroll* and *Henderson* as you will see from the hand bills. From Lexington he will come home by easy stages through *Perry, Wayne, Hardin, Lawrence* &c.—where his presence can do more good than in any other part of the State. —

You must be here ready to start with us to *Paris* on the evening of *Sunday* the 23rd. If it be possible to get a Steam-Boat from this to *Dover* it would save two days ride on horseback — as *Dover* is only 35. miles from Paris. — We will do so if we can. If we cannot we must leave here on the morning of Monday the 24th—. You will see that we have made no appointment for you at *Waverly* in *Humphreys* on your way home as was suggested. It can still be done if expedient. — Cave Johnson however will be there soon, and it was thought that it might be best for you to return through *Perry* and address the people at *Mount Pleasant* in Maury and in Williamson on your return home, if your arrangements would enable you to do so. — This can be settled hereafter. —

Nicholson[74] has gone to E. Tenn. — My letters from E. Tenn. inform me that *Grundy* is addressing the people with great effect on his way home. I hope he may have a numerous meeting at Sparta. — I will return immediately home from *Paris* — and attend *Public occasions* in my District & the Counties South of it, — and if necessary must return to the District in October. —

Clay[75] was at Tyree's Spring last night & will be in to day. I am heartily rejoiced that he has come. It must revive *old recollections*[76] & result in the advancement of our cause. I am rejoiced to learn that *Scruggs* is getting well, & that *Coe* has been fully acquitted & discharged by the examining Court. — He will of course continue in the canvass. —

P. S. I have written to *Totten* that he must accompany you from *Paris* & have no doubt he will do so. —

Murfreesboro June 1st 1842

My Dear Sir:

I see in the Nashville Banner of Monday last — a communication over the names of four of the Whig Senators, addressed to *"The Thirteen,"*[77] but more especially to yourself *Hardwicke, Johnson* and *Powell*[78] proposing that the Senators shall resign and submit the matters in dispute to their respective constituents. They take especial care not to include in their proposition the House of Representatives in which the *Whig party* hold an accidental majority. — They modestly propose that the Democrats shall surrender their power in the Senate, whilst the Whigs shall retain theirs in the House. — In this way they doubtless calculate that they have every thing to gain and nothing to loose [*sic*]. Suppose the Democratic Senators accede to their

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[74] Alfred O. P. Nicholson, a former editor of the Columbia *Mercury;* Tennessee legislator, 1833-37; United States senator, 1840-41, 1859-1861.

[75] Henry Clay was in Tennessee, campaigning for William Henry Harrison.

[76] Probably referring to the alleged Clay-Adams bargain of 1825.

[77] The "Immortal Thirteen" Democrats, the majority group in the Tennessee senate, refused to permit the senate to go into joint session with the Whig-controlled house for the purpose of electing United States senators. Consequently, for two years, Tennessee had no senators at Washington.

[78] John P. Hardwicke, state senator from Dickson, Stewart, and Humphreys counties. Andrew Johnson, state senator from Greene and Hawkins counties, 1841-43; congressman, 1843-1853; later governor, senator, and president. Robert W. Powell, state senator from Carter, Sullivan, and Washington counties. These three were members of the "Immortal Thirteen."

proposition, and the elections—to supply the vacant places shall result as they did in August last — with perhaps an addition of one or two Democratic Senators, still the Whig party by retaining their power in the House would be in no worse condition than they now are.

Now my first impression, that the proposition of the four Whigs should be promptly and boldly met by one on our part, that all the members of both Houses — shall resign — and all go again before the people. If they agree to this, I shall rejoice in it, & shall have no fears of the result. If they decline it, it will prove, what I believe to be true — that they do not really mean or desire to submit their cause to such a test. — I think they should be told distinctly that the Democratic Senators will cheerfully accept their proposition and resign provided the members of the House will do so also. —

By a reply of this character — you will prevent them from making a false impression on the public mind, — such as their address unexposed is calculated to make. By that address they manifest a seeming desire — to submit the existing differences, to the people. — This insincerity will be exposed by their refusal to include the House also. — I verily believe if the House resign that we should gain in another election not less than a dozen members, whilst the peculiar arrangement of Senatorial Districts might make the result more doubtful in that Branch.

It will not do, to suffer the address of the four Whigs to go unanswered. My judgment is that the answer should be forthcoming without delay, and as you are so much dispersed, that it will be impossible for you to be together, — I suggest for your consideration that you should prepare and publish over your individual signature a proper reply, such as you are so well able to prepare, send copies of the paper containing it, to each of the Democratic Senators accompanied by a short note to each requesting him, — through the newspaper nearest him, to signify his assent to it, which I have no doubt all would do. — If you approve the views [illegible] — suggested, the newspapers — should without delay present them to the people. — I am so well satisfied of their correctness, that I have written to the *Argus* the *Union* & the *Appeal*[79] suggesting them. If our friend *Ford* concurs he can print them through his papers. — If in addition to what I have here suggested, half a dozen Democratic members of the House could be got together — and make an address to the four Whig Senators — proposing that all the members of the House as well as the Senate shall resign it would be an admirable movement.

I am here with my wife on a visit to her relations and to attend the marriage of Dr. Rucker's[80] eldest daughter this evening. I will leave for Columbia in the morning.

Columbia Sept 23rd 1842.

My Dear Sir:

Private

Having engaged to attend a Public Dinner at Pulaski on the 29th and another at Lynnville on the 30th Instant, — I cannot be at Nashville before the first day of your Extra Session. — On some accounts I regret this. — My brother[81] will be there on Wednesday next, and I think it important — that Hardwicke, yourself and one or two others should meet him there two or

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[79] Memphis *Argus*, Nashville *Union*, and Memphis *Appeal*.
[80] W. R. Rucker, a brother-in-law of Polk.
[81] William Polk.

three days before the meeting of the Assembly. He is fully in possession of my views, — upon several matters of importance which will come before you. — We must have the proper understanding among friends at the outset & act in concert. —

P. S. I will be at Nashville if possible on the Sunday evening before your meeting.

Columbia Oct 19th 1842. —

My Dear Sir:

Private

I see that the Nashville Whig papers, — have at length broke ground upon the Democratic Preamble and Resolutions. It is manifest from the tone of their articles that they are at fault in knowing how to meet them. — The *Banner* I see promises to make startling developments, — and to demolish you hereafter. — I hope you will give attention to what they may say; — and as *Harris* must be very busy, — in attending to other duties, that you will assist him — in refuting or answering what may appear. — Do not suffer them to depart from the issues — which your Resolutions present. — They will probably attempt to get up an angry discussion, with you upon some immaterial collateral matter. This should not be allowed. — Hold them on to the old records — which you have brought forward; and compel them to justify and defend the Bankrupt law, and other odious measures of the party in power. —

There was a *Clay* meeting here on Monday concerning which I wrote to brother *William* on yesterday. It was thinly attended and went off heavily. — It produced not the slightest effect, — except to rouse up the Democracy. A number of our Whigs will not vote for *Mr Clay*. We have called an *anti-Clay* meeting for the 31st at which there will probably be a very large crowd. — I leave this evening to attend the Barbecue at *Davis's Mills* in Bedford on the 21st & will be at home again on sunday evening. This is great labour, but some one must do it & I submit to it cheerfully. — Now is the time to prostrate *Clay* in the State. — It may be more difficult next Spring. —

I have received a letter from *Col Yoakum*[82] expressing deep solicitude that Rutherford[83] may not be sacraficed [*sic*] in the arrangement of Congressional & Senatorial Districts. — I know the difficulties attending the subject, — but still hope — that she may be saved — in one if not both. — The Central position of that County makes it more important — that we should preserve our strength there, than in any other *County* in the State. — Do what you can, consistently with your duty to others, for our Rutherford friends. — We have heard nothing here from the Fayette[84] election. — The election news from abroad is indeed most cheering. —

Columbia Jany 6th 1843.

My Dear Sir:

Private

Our committee here, have addressed a letter of which the enclosed is a copy to every county in the state, — except some four or five, — where they could not learn the names of suitable persons to whom to address. — They request me to forward the enclosed one for Van-Buren to you with a request — that you will address & forward it to the proper persons. — They

[82] Henderson Yoakum, state senator from Rutherford County.
[83] Rutherford County. The legislature was in special session for the purpose of redistricting the state.
[84] Fayette County.

request also that you will furnish me with the names of the persons to whom you may address it. — They have sent none to the new County of Putnam. If you think they should do so send me the names and it will be attended to. — I regret exceedingly that any collison among friends has arisen in the Mountain District, and hope as you have been announced that it may be amicably arranged — & that you may run without opposition —. Mr. Kizer writes me that a proposition had been made by your friends to leave the matter to a District Convention. This is right, and was the only prudent course left, — after it became certain — that there would otherwise be a conflict among political friends. The proposition is such an one as cannot be declined. — I would do anything in my power to reconcile these differences, — but really I do not know what it is in my power to do, more than has been done. — There is danger than any attempted interference on my part might be construed into *Dictation* and still widen the breach. — The letter of our committee here, which has been sent, — will I hope have a happy influence. I send you below — the names of the persons in the several Counties in your district to whom it has been sent.

[The list of names in DeKalb, Coffee, White, Overton, Fentress, and Jackson counties is omitted.]

Columbia Jany 27th 1843. —

My Dear Sir:

Private

I am anxious to hear how the difficulties — which have unexpectedly sprung up in the Mountain District are about being adjusted. Does *Mr Cullum*[85] desire to run for Congress, or will he insist upon it? — Will it be necessary to call a District Convention? If so have any steps been taken to fix upon a time and place? — The matter will be much more easily settled now, than it will be after the canvass opens — and the public becomes excited. I should think there would be no difficulty now, but if it is postponed for two months there may be. — I have only time to call your attention to the matter, and to ask for information. — Who will be the Democratic candidates for Representative in the Legislature from *DeKalb*, and from *Fentress, White* and Van-Buren? Both these are debateable [*sic*] Districts and with proper candidates we can carry them. — Who are likely to be the candidates for the Legislature in each of the other Counties of your Congressional District? It is very important in my judgment that all our candidates should be announced at the earliest practicable period. — Give me all the information you have upon this, and other matters, — connected with the approaching contest. —

Columbia March 20th 1843. —

Confidential

My Dear Sir:

I will set out on tomorrow for Springfield in Robertson County, where the canvass will open on friday next. You will see from the list of appointments as published in the newspapers, that I will not be in your part of the State until July. I start under the most favorable prospects. That we have greatly increased our strength in the State since the last election I have not a doubt; nor can I doubt our complete success, if we use the proper energy, and can preserve harmony in our ranks. Nothing but a want of harmony and unfortunate collisions between friends can possibly endanger our success.

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[85] Apparently Alvin Cullom of Livingston; Democratic congressman, 1843-47.

I have silently looked on, upon the State of things in your part of the State, in the anxious hope that Col. C.[86] and yourself, might be enabled to arrange the matter amicably and satisfactorily to both, and so as to avoid that division among our political friends, which I fear must follow if you are both candidates for Congress. You will I know My Dear Sir: fully appreciate the reasons for my solicitude that perfect harmony and concert may be preserved in the action of our party in every part of the State. When I have expressed this solicitude I have done all I can do, and still hope that the theatened competition between friends may be avoided. I will only add that I have to day written a precise copy of this letter to Col. C. intending in no possible manner to interfere in the matter, further than to express my deep anxiety on the subject, and to tender to both of you my friendly advice. I shall inquire for letters at all the places where I have appointments, and will be happy to hear from you at Jackson, or at such other point, as you may think a letter will reach me. Give me your opinion of our prospects as far as you may have information.

Camden May 8th 1843. –

Private

My Dear Sir:

I have heard from your District since I received your letter at Savanah [*sic*] on the 14th April. – Write me to Columbia where I will rest next week & let me know all about matters in your District, as they are now arranged. – I have passed through 22 Counties. My prospects[87] are better than they have ever been: – better decidedly than they were in 1839. – The Democracy every-where are buoyant, – confident of success – and more active than I have ever known them. We have a gain in every County. I have not heard of the loss of a single man. The mass of the Whigs are dispirited, – luke-warm & indifferent, – & many of them will not vote at all. They cannot be *roused* by all the efforts of their leaders. *Jones* [88] was out of the canvass & I was alone for 7- days until friday last he joined me at *Christmasville* & is here, but is still complaining. –

Shelbyville Decr 4th 1843–

Confidential

My Dear Sir:

I have great anxiety about the forth-coming address to the people of the state. – At this juncture of time it will attract attention throughout the Union, – and if it is ably drawn and is such a paper as the talents of our friends can make it, it will go far to settle the Vice Presidential Nomination. – It will go forth under the sanction of imposing names with *Gov. Carroll* at their head. – It will be understood abroad to embody the sentiment of the Democracy of this State, – deliberately sent forth by their chosen organ, a committee appointed by their convention. – This being the case it should command the assistance in its preparation of the whole party. – I wrote to *Humphreys*[89] on the subject before I feft home. *Nicholson* who came out in the stage – to Columbia on saturday, informed me, that a

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[86] Cullom.

[87] Prospects of being elected governor. Polk had defeated Newton Cannon for governor in 1839 but had lost to James C. Jones in 1841. He was to lose to Jones again in 1843.

[88] James C. Jones; Whig governor of Tennessee, 1841-45; United States senator, 1851-57.

[89] West H. Humphreys, Tennessee attorney general, 1839-1851.

meeting of a part of the committee had been held at *Gov. Carroll's* a night or two before he left, & that he had been requested to prepare it. — I desire very much that you should be consulted and give your aid in its preparation. — In regard to the general character of the paper, I believe I explained to you my views. It will be unnecessary to re-iterate, at any length at least, the general tenets of our political faith, for these have been so often & in so many forms presented to our people that they have become familiar with them. A concise history of the origin & progress of the existing parties in the State, — with the causes of our divisions, — accompanied with a bold and strong expression of confidence in our strength, — will do much to inspire confidence in our success. — The main objects of the address should be to impress our friends abroad that we have fair prospects of success, — and that we will succeed, if the action of the Democratic Convention at Baltimore shall be judicious & harmonious. The address of course will carry out the views of the Convention & express our preference of the Presidency, but make an appeal to our friends — to avoid all angry or excited discussion as to men, and to give their hearty and zealous support to the nominee of the Convention. — It would be indelicate in me to say, what the paper should be touching the Vice Presidency. That I can safely leave to my friends. To *you* however I will say, — that by turning to the *Weekly Union* of February 1840 — you will find an article written immediately after our Convention of that year, entitled as well as I remember *"A Voice from the South West,"* which may aid you in the preparation of this part of the address. — I will return home on tomorrow or the next day, and if you advise me at Columbia that you will have the paper in a state of forwardness — I could be at Nashville on Saturday or Monday next. If I come I will revise the paper except so far as it may relate to myself.

There is another matter that I have thought much about since I saw you. There must be an able a true and efficient Editor of the Union[90] — during the next year. — I fear that occasional contributors would not make a uniformly good paper. It would be much better if we had some one to give his whole attention to it. — I learned [*while ?*] at Nashville that $1500 — could be readily raised in advance. If it were compatible with your interest & inclination for you to undertake it, until the contest of 1844 is over, it is the very best arrangement which could be me [*sic*]. I merely mention this now, that you may think of it, by the time I come to Nashville, when something definite must be settled in regard to it.

Columbia, Saturday night
Decr 30th 1843.—

Confidential

My Dear Sir:

I received your letter of yesterday, at noon to day. — *Genl Pillow*[91] is himself unwell, has three sick children — and cannot possibly leave home. This I regret exceedingly. But for the indisposition of himself and his family, — he had I think made up his mind to lay down every thing, and go not only to Nashville, but if necessary to Columbus. — I would myself go forthwith to Nashville — but have strong impressions that there would be an impropriety in it. — Should the step contemplated get into the Whig —

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[90] Harris had recently given up the editorship of the *Union.*

[91] Gideon J. Pillow of Columbia, law partner of Polk; later major general in the Mexican War.

newspapers, — as it is possible it may, — it would be attributed to my personal agency, — especially if I were at Nashville at this time. — I am satisfied too, — that I could not promote — the object in view — by going, further than I have done. — Yourself and my other *confidential friends,* are already fully in possession of all my views, and of the importance I attach to the movement. — My friends I know are already as zealous in the matter, — and as anxious to have it effected as I can be. All that I could do, if I were present, would be to urge it, and this perhaps I have already done, as far as a proper regard for my friends and their convenience would make it proper for me to do. — I will write to *Turney* to night, and enclose my letter under cover to *Genl Armstrong,* hoping to meet with a private opportunity to forward — both letters on tomorrow. — No mail leaves here for Nashville until Monday. — *Turney* can effect more than any man in the State — unless it be Donaldson. — The two I am satisfied could accomplish the object. — *Cheatham*[92] having been twice *President* of our State Conventions is known abroad — and would have great weight. They will both know, do anything in their power, & will go, if they possibly can. — I think it best under all the circumstances — to leave whatever is done to my friends, — and shall be perfectly satisfied with whatever they do. — Write me at the earliest moment what is done. —

Columbia Jany 20th 1844. —

Private

My Dear Sir:

I send to my brother an additional list of names —, and have urged him to multiply — copies of the letter for the committee to sign. — The address of *Genl T. A. Howard* is *Rockville Parke County Indiana.* — Send him one of the committee's letters & write him a private letter yourself. — All these letters should be dispatched forthwith. Do not fail to have the list I left with you as well as that sent to my brother filled promptly, — . The Pennsylvania Convention sets [*sic*] on the 4th of March. *Mr Buchanan*[93] will make great efforts — undoubtedly — to procure the nomination of his favourite at it. — That State therefore should be attended to, with special care, — and at the earliest possible day. *The Hon. Henry Horn* of Philadelphia is the controlling spirit in that State. — Send one of the first letters of the Committee to him. I think it very important too — that you should write a full and strong — private letter to him, explaining the action of our Convention to him, and the importance of the nomination, — so far as this and the South-Western States are concerned. He is my personal and political friend, and a letter from you, stating to him who you are, that you are a Delegate to the Baltimore Convention, & that you are for Van-Buren — would have a fine effect. — *Mr Horn* is the devoted friend of Mr Van-Buren — and was for him and against Buchanan before the latter declined. — I fear if he is not excited to active exertion in time, that *Mr Buchanan,* operating from Washington may carry the nomination of that State — according to his wishes. — I fear Pennsylvania more, — because of Mr Buchanan's influence than any other part of the ground. Will you write to Johnson and Brown to correspond immediately — with their acquaintances in that State. — It is very important they should do so. Do not fail to procure

[92] Probably Benjamin F. Cheatham of Nashville; later major general in the Confederate army.

[93] James Buchanan.

from *Majr Heiss* the names of the Democratic Committee at Pittsburg & let our Committee address a letter to them.

Will you take a leisure moment and write to *Van-Pelt*[94] at Memphis to take more interest and stronger ground than he has heretofore done. –

A letter received by Dr Hays to day from Jackson Mississippi – states the vote in Convention: For *Van-Buren* 62 – against him 20: *For Polk* 59 – against him 29 – but does not state to whom the opposing votes were given. This must give a great impetus to my prospects, and if properly used must overcome the schemes at Washington to defeat me. – Have a prominent notice taken of it in tuesday's Union. – For the future I think the Union, – should devote more space to this subject. – Let the Cincinnati proceedings and all others that may appear have a prominent insertion. –

Columbia May 9th 1944 (night)
Private

My Dear Sir:

Your remaining a few days at Nashville – was not only necessary – but perhaps indispensible. The appearance of Mr Van-Buren's letter required it.[95] I am glad to learn that *Majr Heiss*[96] has consented to yield to your views. – The Union will be in safe hands – during your absence, when it is under the control of such men as Humphreys and the other gentlemen you name at Nashville.–*Genl Pillow* will be at Nashville on Saturday night on his way to Baltimore. I think all things considered that you had better abandon the Virginia route, – and go on in company with *Donaldson*,[97] *Childress*[98] and Pillow. You would find the Virginia route very fatiguing – and might have to travel the whole distance alone. *Williamson Smith* (who is a Delegate from Mississippi) is now at Washington, & writes me that *John Blair*[99] was already in the City – and I suppose will not return before the Convention is over. – You should write to *Powell* by the next mail not to wait for you, but to meet you as early as possible at Washington. – I hope *Donaldson, Childress* and *yourself,* will be ready to leave with *Pillow* in the Louisville Stage on sunday morning, – or at furtherest on monday morning. Will you write to *Childress* and *Donaldson* to meet *Pillow* and *yourself* at Nashville at that time. You should not delay longer. Jno W. Martin (Childress's son-in-law) will convey a note to him forthwith, if you desire it. – I am very anxious that you should all leave as early as practicable. – From what Cave Johnson writes – I think the recent occurance [*sic*] on the chess-board – have decidedly improved my prospects. The presence of my friends from Tennessee, at Washington for a few days before the Convention meets is not only vastly important, – but may decide the action of the Convention. –

I have been constantly and incessantly engaged in Court during the whole week, in laboring to save our Democratic Clerk of the Circuit Court. – Late this evening the case was closed & the decision pronounced in his favour. It was a just & righteous decision, – but was resisted with great

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[94] Henry Van Pelt, editor of the Memphis *Apeal.*

[95] In reply to an inquiry from W. H. Hammett of Mississippi, Van Buren, on April 20, 1844, wrote that he was opposed to the annexation of Texas because it would lead to war with Mexico. The letter was published and contributed to Van Buren's loss of the Democratic nomination for president in 1844.

[96] John P. Heiss, a native of Pennsylvania, was associated with the Nashville *Union* from 1840 to 1845.

[97] Andrew Jackson Donelson.

[98] John W. Childress of Murfreesboro, a brother-in-law of Polk.

[99] A delegate from Jonesboro, Tennessee.

energy – by the Atto-Genl & five lawyers to assist him. – The case is however over and the Clerk will be inducted into his office in the morning. – I mention this as one reason why I could not come to Nashville –. – I will now have some leisure and will attend to the subscription for the "Star Spangled Banner"[100] – and the other matters which I mentioned to Armstrong and yourself. – Tell Armstrong to write to *Daniel Turner*[101] of Huntsville – that he must not fail to go on. – I shall expect to be regularly advised of any thing of interest which may transpire in your absence. –

[100] A campaign paper published from the office of the Nashville *Union*.
[101] Sometime Huntsville postmaster and Alabama legislator.

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Compiled by Martha L. Ellison

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Clark, Thomas D. The country store in post-civil war Tennessee. (East Tenn. hist. soc. Pubs. no. 17:4-21)

Coles, Harry L., Jr. The federal food administration of Tennessee and its records in the national archives, 1917-1919. (Tenn. hist. qr. Mr. '45. v. 4:23-57)

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UNPUBLISHED MASTER'S THESES, 1945

UNIVERSITY OF TENNESSEE

Brown, Virginia Holmes. History of Tennessee labor legislation
Richardson, Charles Henry. History of municipal government in Knoxville since 1911

VANDERBILT UNIVERSITY

Smith, Frances. Post-civil war agriculture in West Tennessee
Wagner, Mary Church. The settlement of Zion community in Maury county, 1806-1860 (Dec. 1944)

BOOK NOTICES

Books to be noticed will be those bearing directly or indirectely upon some phase or phases of the history of Tennessee. There is no intention of reviewing books critically; the purpose of the *Publications* will be served in supplying bibliographical data and in indicating something of the nature of the subject matter.

A History of Tusculum College, 1794-1944. By Allen E. Ragan. (Bristol, Tennessee: King Printing Company for The Tusculum Sesquicentennial Committee, 1945. x, 274 pp. Illustrations, bibliographical note. $2.00.)

"The general purpose of this volume is to supply a need which has long been felt for a history of Tusculum College. Its specific purpose is to produce a history of the college as a part of the effort to appropriately celebrate Tusculum's 150th birthday in 1944. Tusculum has had a long and interesting history which dates back to the chartering of its earliest ancestor, Greeneville College, in 1794." (Introduction.)

The chapter titles are as follows: I. Greeneville College 1794-1868; II. Tusculum's First Fifty Years; III. Greeneville and Tusculum College 1868-1908; IV. Tusculum College 1908-1931; V. Tusculum College 1908-1931 (Continued); VI. Tusculum College Since 1931.

Methodism in Holston. By Isaac Patton Martin. (Knoxville: The Methodist Historical Society, 1945. 459 pp. Footnotes, index. $2.00.)

"The union of the Methodist Churches in America has greatly quickened the interest of the Methodists of Holston Conference in the history of Methodism in the Holston Country. The call for the writing of a history of the entire movement of Methodism in this area, has come from every section of our territory and from every branch of our constituency. There is a widespread desire to know of the origin and spread, the growth and development, the struggle and conflict, the defeats and the successes, which have attended our progress to this good hour.

"The History of Methodism written by Dr. R. N. Price is a priceless contribution to Methodist history. All lovers of history are under obligations for his tireless labors in writing the history of more than a century of work in Holston. His History covers the period from 1783, when the first preacher was sent to 'Holston Circuit,' to 1897.

"Nearly a half century has passed since 1897. In the meantime the *Methodist Episcopal Church*, the *Methodist Episcopal Church, South*, and the *Methodist Protestant Church* have united and have become *The Methodist Church*. It is, now, perfectly clear that whatever has occurred, while we were separated, is a part of our own common history. That there should be a common desire for a combined history of all branches of the Church, proclaims the completeness of our union." (Foreword.)

Hiwassee Island: An Archaeologictl Account of Four Tennessee Indian Peoples. By Thomas M. N. Lewis and Madeline Kneberg. (Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 1946. x, 188 pp., 118 plates, 5 maps. Appendix, footnotes, bibliography, index. $5.50.)

"The Hiwassee Island site is one of a great many in the state of Tennessee which were excavated prior to their inundation by the Tennessee Valley Authority dams. This stupendous undertaking called for the coopera-

tion and efforts of many agencies and individuals. Federal aid was made available through the Works Projects Administration and its several predecessors, and the Tennessee Valley Authority. Sponsorship and direction of the work were provided by The University of Tennessee through its Division of Anthropology. Special financial assistance in the form of grants-in-aid was rendered by the American Philosophical Society and the National Research Council at several critical periods during the course of the investigations . . . .

"This report on the Hiwassee Island site is the first of a series dealing with the investigations carried on under this program. This particular site was selected because of the extensive nature of the excavations and the significance of the findings as they pertain to southeastern prehistory." (Preface.)

Of particular interest to students of history is Chapter II, "Archaeological and Historical Setting," which sustains the authors' conclusion that the "Cherokee were present along the upper Hiwassee River in 1540," and that when they arrived they "found the Yuchi and Creeks already in the eastern Tennessee area." Included among the 118 plates are several artistically drawn reproductions of Indian communities, costumes, burial scenes, and male and female types of heads and figures, based on the examination of skeletal remains.

Tennessee Printers, 1791-1945: A Review of Printing History from Roultone's First Press to Printers of the Present. By Joseph Hamblen Sears. (Kingsport, Tennessee: Kingsport Press, Inc., 1945. 47 pp.)

"In the year 1791 George Roulstone, the first printer to enter the State of Tennessee, took his press apart in Fayetteville, North Carolina, packed it on horses' backs, or in wagons, and trekked over the trails of the Blue Ridge Mountains into the Holston Valley where Kingsport now stands. There on the banks of the Holston River at James King's Boat Yard he loaded it on a flat boat and floated it down to Rogersville, where he set it up again and started printing the *Knoxville Gazette*, the first piece of printing ever attempted in Tennessee.

"In crossing the valley to reach the river he passed over, or within a few yards of the spot where the Kingsport Press, the largest book producing plant in the world, is now operating. And when he finally got to Rogersville and started his primitive hand press in a little cabin, he was within half a dozen miles of the site of the Pressmen's Home, which is a town in itself, created for the benefit of printing pressmen and their profession; consisting of a technical trade school for the training of printers in advanced printing methods, a correspondence school for apprentices, a hotel, a tuberculosis hospital, a home for aged printers — altogether an immense enterprise, the only institution of its kind on earth.

"That is somewhat of a growth in a hundred and fifty years." (Pages 5-6.)

History of The First Presbyterian Church of Chattanooga. By Zella Armstrong. (Chattanooga: Lookout Publishing Company, 1945. x, 161 pp. Illustrations, bibliography.)

"The only old chronicle of the Presbyterian Church of Chattanooga says 'a few Presbyterians thrown together by the providence of God' gathered June 21, 1840, in a little log cabin in the village of Chattanooga to organize a Church. As a matter of fact a few in the group were of other denominations but there was no church in the village, they recognized the

value of and the necessity for organization and the Presbyterians were in the great majority . . . .

"Much interesting history of the early days can never be known as the records were destroyed during Military Occupation of Chattanooga in the War Between the States, when the church building was taken by the Federal Army for a hospital, and pulpit, pews and papers went the way of war.

"Careful search of all possible data, Government War Records, and hundreds of old letters, and reminiscences of members, many of whom have passed away since information was secured, have yielded the early history herein contained." (Foreword.)

100th Anniversary of the Tennessee School for the Deaf, 1845-1945. (Knoxville: The Tennessee School for the Deaf, 1945.)

This profusely illustrated centennial volume, in format somewhat similar to a college annual, was published as a part of the celebration of the one hundred years of existence of the institution. It includes a rather detailed historical sketch, along with much other material of historic interest.

Ducktown: Back in Raht's Time. By R. E. Barclay. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1946. Illustrations, appendix. $5.00.)

"For no reason other than to learn something of the history of the region in which he has lived for over forty years, the writer entered upon the task of compiling this narrative in 1936. And before he had completed it, he had spent over seven years in arduous toil and had traveled some three thousand miles in his car. Libraries and court houses in Nashville, Cleveland, Benton, Blue Ridge, Murphy, and Ellijay were visited several times. Older citizens living in remote coves, and in towns and cities throughout this section were visited and interviewed. Letters seeking information on the history of a Ducktown long since forgotten were sent out to all parts of this country and to foreign countries.

"The prize stroke, however, and the one which made it possible to expand this narrative to book length, was the discovery by the author of a great mass of accurate, detailed records, documents, and letters, all bearing upon Ducktown and the surrounding region from the 1840's to the early 1900's. The bulk of these records consisted of Captain J. E. Raht's personal papers. There were letters addressed to him and copies of his own letters which he had secured by the wet-press method. In this tremendous volume of relevant and rare papers and correspondence had been preserved a record of an important segment of Ducktown's early history, as well as a remarkable though disconnected narrative of Captain Raht's own life. Here indeed was material which, when added to that collected through the author's own efforts, made possible an authentic portrayal of almost every phase of life and activity at Ducktown throughout the period from its settlement until the closing of the mines in 1878." (Preface.)

NOTES AND NEWS, 1945

At the annual banquet of the East Tennessee Historical Society at the Farragut Hotel in Knoxville on October 20, the 20th anniversary of the Society was observed. Special invitations were extended to the 16 living charter members, and nine were present. They were introduced by President Harvey Broome. One of the charter members, Dr. James D. Hoskins, president of the University of Tennessee, gave the invocation. The speaker was Mr. Robert Selph Henry, assistant to the president of the Association of American Railroads and author of several historical books, the latest being *"First with the Most" Forrest.* The subject of his address was "They Rode With Old Bedford."

The Calvin M. McClung Award of $50.00 for the best paper printed in *Publications* No. 17 was given to Dr. Thomas D. Clark of the University of Kentucky for his article "The Country Store in Post-Civil War Tennessee." The judges were: W. H. Combs, Michigan State College, East Lansing; R. S. Cotterill, Florida State College for Women, Tallahassee; and H. G. Toole, Marshall College, Huntington, West Virginia.

The following papers, most of them preliminary drafts of chapters to be included in the "History of Knox County" planned for publication in 1946, were presented at the regular monthly meetings of the Society in 1945:

January. "Life in Knoxville Under Confederate Rule, 1860-1863" by Pollyanna Creekmore, Knoxville.

February. "In the Beginning: Aboriginal Knox County" by T .M. N. Lewis, Knoxville.

March. "The History of the Public Library in Knoxville, 1817-1917" by Martha L. Ellison, Knoxville.

April. "Agriculture in Knox County from Settlement to Civil War" by C. E. Allred, Knoxville.

May. "Transportation in Knox County before the Civil War" by S. J. Folmsbee, Knoxville.

June. "The Life of Adolph Ochs" by Gilbert E. Govan, Chattanooga.

November. "The Republican Party in East Tennessee, 1900-1914" by Verton M. Queener, Washington, D. C.

December. "The Small Communities of Knox County" by Nannie Lee Hicks, Fountain City.

Officers of the Society for 1946 elected at the December meeting are: Harvey Broome, president; Helen M. Harris, vice-president for Knoxville area; Judge Samuel Cole Williams, vice-president for Upper East Tennessee; Culver H. Smith, vice-president for Lower East Tennessee; Martha L. Ellison, secretary; Laura E. Luttrell, treasurer; J. Wesley Hoffmann and Leo J. Zuber, members of the executive committee. Dr. S. J. Folmsbee was reelected as managing editor of the *Publications,* and Dr. L. P. Graf,a new member of the U. T. History Department, was made editorial associate.

Two changes in the membership of the Tennessee Historical Commission took place in 1945. Seal B. Johnson of Jackson was named to the place made vacant by the death of Clarence E. Pigford of Jackson. Burgin E. Dossett, new commissioner of education, automatically became an ex

officio member replacing the retiring commissioner, B. O. Duggan.

At an elaborate ceremony on February 21 attended by members of both houses of the general assembly and many other citizens, a marble bust of Cordell Hull was presented to the state by the Tennessee Historical Commission. The bust of this famous Tennessean, who later in the year was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize, now occupies a prominent place in his native state's capitol.

The Tennessee Historical Society has received for its museum collection two chairs used by former Secretary of State Hull in Washington. One of the chairs was used while attending cabinet sessions, the other at his desk in the State Department.

The hundredth anniversary of the death of Andrew Jackson was commemorated at a ceremony sponsored by the Tennessee Historical Society and the Ladies Hermitage Association at the Hermitage, Nashville, on June 8. Representatives of the following patriotic societies placed wreaths on Jackson's tomb: Tennessee Historical Society, Ladies Hermitage Association, Polk Memorial Association, Thomas Hart Benton Chapter of the Daughters of 1812, State Daughters of 1812, U. D. C., Colonial Dames, D. A. R., Women's Auxiliary of the American Legion, and Legion Post No. 5.

On July 4 in Nashville a celebration was sponsored by the Tennessee Historical Society in observance of the hundredth anniversary of the laying of the cornerstone of the state capitol. Judge R. B. C. Howell, vice-president of the Society, was master of ceremonies, and Stanley F. Horn, president, described the laying of the stone in 1845. The principal speaker was Governor Jim Nance McCord. Wreaths were placed before the tombs (located in the capitol) of William Strickland, the architect, and Samuel D. Morgan, a member of the Board of Capitol Commissioners during the years of the building's construction.

At the centennial celebration of the U. S. Naval Academy at Annapolis on October 12, a portrait of President James K. Polk was presented to the Academy by Governor McCord on behalf of the Tennessee Historical Commission. The portrait of President Polk, during whose administration the Naval Academy was established, was unveiled by Mrs. Bruce Douglas, president of the James K. Polk Memorial Association, assisted by Mrs. Dudley Gale. A number of other Tennesseans were present for the ceremony. On October 24 the portrait was hung in Bancroft Hall, opposite that of George Bancroft, who was Polk's Secretary of the Navy and the founder of the Academy.

The 150th anniversary of the birth of James K. Polk was celebrated at the home in Columbia on November 6, the service being arranged by the James K. Polk Memorial Association, Mrs. Bruce Douglas, president. The speakers were Governor McCord, Mayor Walter Chandler of Memphis, and William E. Beard, vice-chairman of the Tennessee Historical Commission.

An article by Miss Isabel Howell of Nashville, "John Armfield of Beersheeba Springs," was named the "outstanding representative of local historical scholarship in 1944" by the Committee on Awards of the American Association for State and Local History. Announcement of this honor to Miss Howell was made in *The State and Local History News* for November, 1945. Miss Howell's article was published in the *Tennessee Historical Quarterly* for March and June, 1944.

The 1945 issue of *The Volunteer,* University of Tennessee annual, was dedicated to the school's sesquicentennial anniversary and contained a pictorial record of the celebration held in November, 1944.

A gavel made from a cedar beam taken from the tower of Old College was presented to Governor McCord by President J. D. Hoskins at a luncheon of the trustees of the University of Tennessee on August 9. Old College, built in 1827, was the first building erected on the present campus. It was torn down in 1920 to make way for Ayres Hall.

On October 26 a portrait of Polly McClung, one of the first U. T. co-eds, was presented to the University to hang in the reception room of Polly McClung Hall. The donor was Mrs. Hugh Lawson McClung of Knoxville. Ed Hurst, Knoxville artist, painted the portrait after a careful study of physical characteristics of other members of the McClung family and of the costumes of the early 1800's.

A portrait of President J. D. Hoskins painted by Miss Eleanor McAdoo Wiley, Knoxville artist, was exhibited at the Audigier Galleries in the U. T. Library in October.

Miss Wiley is the first East Tennessee artist to be given a commission by the Tennessee Historical Commission. She has been asked to paint portraits of Rear Admiral Charles St. John Butler and Rear Admiral-Major General Samuel P. Carter to be hung in the state capitol.

On February 19, 1945, the Tennessee State Planning Commission celebrated its tenth anniversary. The commission was created by legislative act "to achieve a sounder economy and a fuller life for the people of Tennessee."

An interesting picture of life in the utopian community of Nashoba, established by Frances Wright, a Scotch reformer, in 1825, is given in the story of *The Trollopes* by Lucy Poate Stebbins, published by Columbia University Press in 1945.

A new local history group was organized in 1945 — the Rutherford County Historical Society with headquarters at Murfreesboro.

Webb School at Bell Buckle celebrated its 75th anniversary and the 103rd birthday of its founder, W. R. ("Old Sawney") Webb, on November 11, 1945. The speakers were: Dr. W. H. Witt, Nashville physician, "Webb, the Schoolmaster"; James G. Stahlman, publisher of the Nashville *Banner,* "Webb, the Citizen"; and Walter P. Armstrong, Memphis attorney, "Webb, His Humanity." The address of welcome was given by W. R. Webb, Jr., present head of the school.

Dr. E. C. Kirkland of U. T., a past president of the Tennessee Folklore Society and the Southeastern Folklore Society, was appointed chairman of the Folk Song Committee of the Modern Language Association in recognition of his work as a collector of folk ballads in the United States.

Announcement was made in November by Secretary of the Interior Harold L. Ickes of the appointment of Mrs. Reau Folk of Nashville to the Advisory Board on National Parks, Historic Sites, Buildings and Monuments.

The Huguenot Society of the Founders of Manakin in the Colony of Virginia, Inc., issued in 1945 volume No. 9 of *The Huguenot* containing records of the Society during the period 1937-1939 not previously published. The introduction was written by Dr. Robert L. Kincaid of Lincoln Memorial University, Harrogate, who was president of the Society for 1943-1945.

Plans have been made for locating, collecting, editing and publishing during a three year period a comprehensive documentary history of education in the South during the colonial and ante-bellum periods. The project is under the direction of Edgar W. Knight, Kenan professor of education at the University of North Carolina. Financial support is provided by one

of the philanthropic foundations and by private funds. Tennessee will be included in the study.

Mrs. Emma Middleton Wells, a members of the Society, died October 9 at the age of 77 at her home in Chattanooga. A native of Elizabethtown, Kentucky, Mrs. Wells moved to Tennessee after her marriage to the late E. O. Wells, who was manager of the Roane Coal and Iron Company at Rockwood. Mrs. Wells was the author of a *History of Roane County*.

Mrs. Maude Yearwood Fouche, curator of the Blount Mansion in Knoxville, died on November 18.

Clarence E. Pigford, veteran lawyer, died in Jackson on January 8. Mr. Pigford was a member of the Tennessee Historical Commission, the Tennessee State Planning Commission, a trustee of Peabody College, and active in the Madison County Historical Society.

A file of the *Cherokee Phoenix and Indian's Advocate* from February 21, 1828 to May 17, 1834 was acquired by the University of Tennessee Library. The newspaper was published in New Echota, Georgia.

Arrangements were completed by Lawson McGhee Library in 1945 with both the *News Sentinel* and the *Journal* whereby the Knoxville newspaper publishers are paying for microfilm copies of the daily papers for preservation by the library.

Both the McClung Historical Collection at Lawson McGhee Library and the U. T. Library have acquired from the National Archives microfilm copies of the 1830 census of Tennessee.

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